





# Abraham Lincoln's Political Career through 1860

## Election 1860

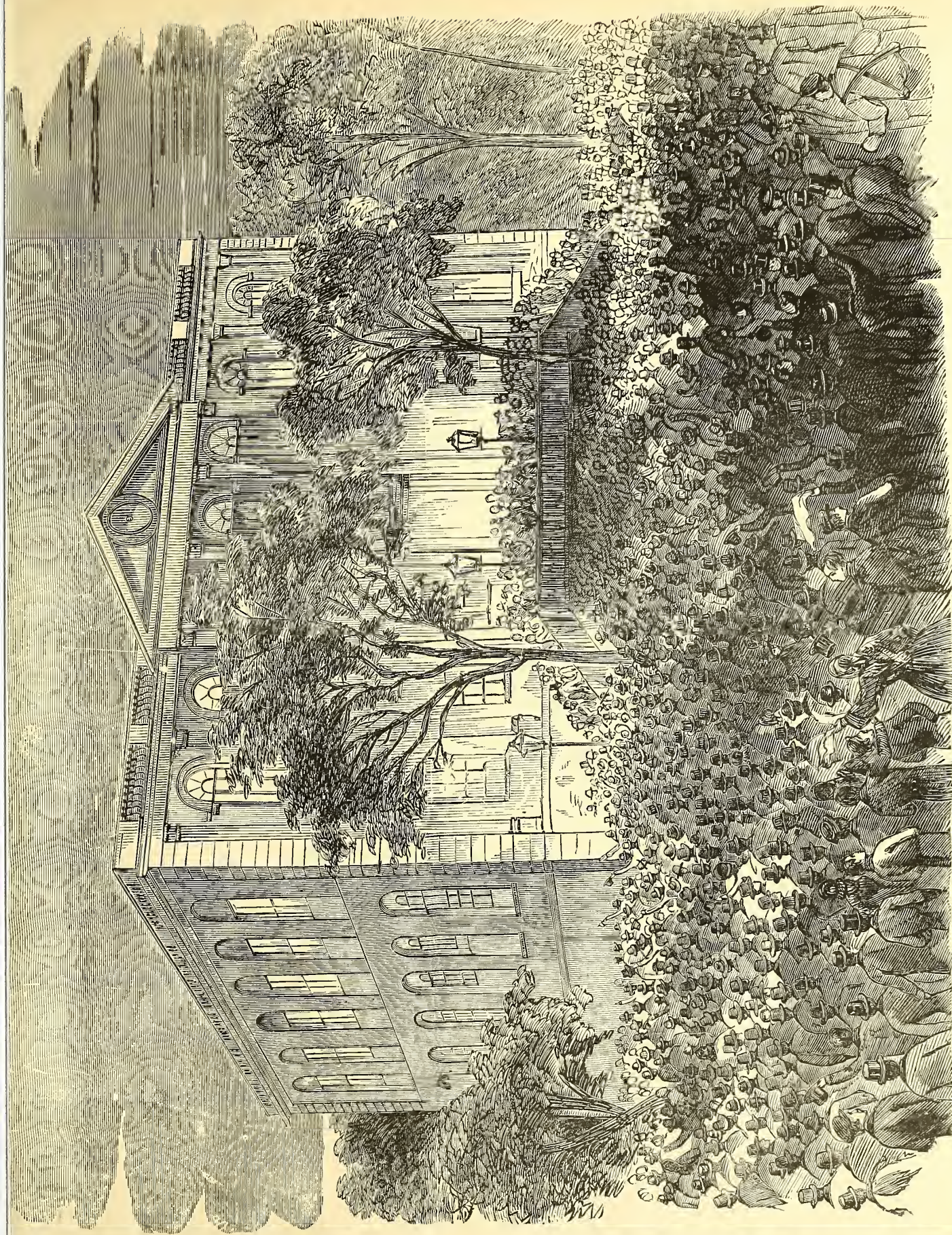
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RECEPTION AT CHARLESTON, S. C., OF THE NEWS OF THE ELECTION OF LINCOLN AND HAMLIN, NOVEMBER, 1860





#### **Last Word.**

We have only one word to add to what we have from time to time said to the Republicans of this city. The time has now come for action. The great privilege of an American citizen is now to be exercised. Go to the polls and vote. Vote peaceably, quietly and certainly. After you vote retire and give way for others to vote. By thus doing, every qualified voter in the township will have ample time to deposit his ballot. We hope no Republican will go to the polls with the intention of having or causing any difficulty. There is no need for a disturbance. Each party will watch its interests, and men have been provided for that purpose.

We have only to say, that the time has now come for action—vote, and see that your neighbor votes, and wherever there is a Republican who is a qualified voter, and is disabled so that he cannot get to the polls, make it your especial duty to see that he gets there. Do this and you will then have discharged your duty to the county of Vigo, to the State of Indiana and to the Federal Government.

#### **How do you like it Freemen of the North?**

Herschel V. Johnson, the Douglas candidate for the Vice Presidency used the following language in his speech in this city, on yesterday. He said "Mr. Lincoln is said to be a good rail splitter—I have twenty negroes at home who are good rail splitters, ANY ONE OF WHOM, I WOULD RATHER SEE ELECTED TO THE PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES, THAN ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

What do you think of that kind of negro equality? Would you, freemen of the North, rather see one of Mr. Johnson's slaves occupy the White House, than Honest Old Abe? Are Mr. Lincoln's qualifications for the Presidency, to be compared with one of Herschel V. Johnson's negroes? Think of this voters of Indiana.





## PART III.

### TRIUMPH OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND ELECTION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

The entire country was in a ferment.

The steady, determined, encroaching spirit of the South, which, for 50 years and more, had sown industriously seeds, the normal outcome of which was a crop of discontent and suspicion in the other sections of the Union, threatened a disruption of the Democratic party.

The solid South then, as now, voted one way.

There was no solid North. The Whigs, the Democrats, the Free Soilers and the Abolitionists were loosening the ties that bound them to their several parties, and little by little solidified into the two great parties, Democrat and Republican. Certain men in the Democratic party, whether by reason of their States' right theory or for selfish motive, allied themselves with the pro slavery party in the South, and were known in the Northern States as copperheads. Angry antagonisms were engendered, personal collisions were frequent, bitter speeches were made and unmistakable signs were many that the national conventions in the early part of 1860 would be turbulent and confused in deliberation. The first convention held that year met in Charleston, S. C., where Caleb Cushing and Benjamin F. Butler were conspicuous among Northern Democrats supposed to be in closest affiliation with Southern hope and intention. After a week's quarrelling over the platform, which, by a vote of 165 to 138, very feebly indorsed Senator Douglas's squatter sovereignty idea, the convention broke up in great confusion, a majority of the delegates from the slave States withdrawing in a body. Ballots were cast, however, for candidates for the presidency and vice presidency, Jefferson Davis and Stephen A. Douglas being the principal contestants. On the fifty-seventh ballot Mr. Douglas was made the nominee, and Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia was nominated as vice president. The out-and-out ultra believers in the Southern idea, who had bolted in Charleston in May, reassembled in Baltimore in June and nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky, then vice president, as candidate for the presidency, and Joseph Allen of Oregon for vice president. Meantime, on May 16, the second Republican national convention assembled in Chicago, in a spacious building called the wigwam, erected especially for its accommodation.

A successful issue in the coming campaign seemed at all events possible.

Nay, in view of the marvellous disintegration of the Democratic party, success seemed probable. Obviously the time was ripe for the weary watchers and long-time waiters to come to the front. The Democratic party had been in power half a century. The Whigs and their children of the Republican party were very hungry. They had seen fat patronage dispensed to their Democratic neighbors until they were disgusted with disappointment. Friends of William B. Seward, of Simon Cameron, of Salmon P. Chase, of Edward Bates, of William M. Dayton, pushed their favorites forward. New York, Michigan, Massachusetts were very anxious indeed that William H. Seward, who had been their unanimous choice four years before, when John C. Fremont was made the standard-bearer, should be placed at the head of the ticket.

William M. Evarts was most anxious to go to the United States Senate.

Edwin D. Morgan looked forward to a cabinet portfolio.

Solidly New York's delegation stood together, and determined that come what might desertion from William H. Seward was not to be dreamed of for a moment. Horace Greeley's well-known opposition to Seward precluded the possibility of his going as a delegate from New York State, but he secured a request from the Republicans of Oregon to act as a delegate, and he did

so. His choice was Edward Bates of St. Louis, or any other good man with whom to beat Seward. Of Bates, Greeley said he "was thoroughly conservative, and although a lifelong slaveholder held fast to the doctrine of our revolutionary sages, that slavery was an evil to be restricted, not a good to be diffused. This conviction made him essentially a Republican, while I believe that he could poll votes in every slave State, and, if elected, rally all that was left of the Whig party, throwing to the winds secession and rebellion." Whatever may have been Mr. Greeley's inside feeling, his opposition to Seward was earnest, continuous and insistent. The general feeling among the Republicans was a dissent from that expressed by Mr. Greeley, and down to the day of the nomination it appeared to most careful observers that Seward's chances were as ten to one against the field. Acting in cordial concert with Evarts, Morgan and their friends was Henry J. Raymond, editor of the New York Times. The night preceding the nomination he met on the stairs of the Sherman House a correspondent on his way to the telegraph office with his despatch for the Morning Times. "Let me look at it," said Mr. Raymond. Glancing it rapidly through, he said: "You are wrong. You are wrong. Seward will be nominated on the first ballot, if not by acclamation." The correspondent suggested that Mr. Raymond had spent the evening in the rooms of the New York delegation while he had been through the enemies' camps somewhat, and preferred his despatch should remain as he wrote it. The editor insisted that he was right. On the following morning he sat with the correspondent immediately in front of the platform, fired with enthusiasm, ablaze with excitement, anticipating an immediate fulfilment of his prediction. The early hours of the morning had been spent, by Greeley and other opponents of Seward in a vain endeavor to induce the friends of the opposing candidates to unite on some one name, and with considerable temper, dissatisfaction and discontent, the convention began its work. The Seward men were confident to a degree, which, in view of subsequent developments, seems amazing; so confident, indeed, that a leading supporter asked Greeley to name the man whose nomination for vice president would be most agreeable to those opposed to the nomination of Seward for president.

This convention's action was the hinge on which the history of the country turned.

The convention's edict settled for all time the condition of the people of the land, North, South, East and West, and its deliberation deserves more consideration, perhaps, than can be accorded here. When nominations were in order, Seward, Cameron, Chase, Bates, Dayton, McLane and Colman were introduced. The convention hall was packed to the verge of suffocation. It is doubtful if a more intelligent body of men ever assembled under any circumstances. New England was particularly strong in its representation. Leading men from New York, strong men from the West, and reliable men from the South were there, anxious, to be sure, for the success of their individual preference, but united in a determination to carry into effect the will of the party as represented in the convention assembled.

Immediately prior to the balloting, an odd character, Uncle Jesse Harper of Illinois, tall and gaunt in figure, clad in rusty black, rose and put in nomination Abraham Lincoln, the rail-splitter. There was nothing of pre-arrangement in his speech, but there was a certain zealous fire in his manner. There was no taking of the platform with perfunctory courtesy, no elaborate sentence, no obviously memorized oration. He stood upon a chair in the body of the hall, quickly sketched the history of his friend, and with an earnestness of manner that carried conviction to many delegates, and found quick responsive enthusiasm in the heart of the vast audience that belted

the convention in a circle of interest, carrying with it a suggestion of possible failure to the alert minds of Seward's friends. When the little stir had passed and the delegates settled down to business a ballot was taken as follows:

William H. Seward of New York.....	173 1/2
Abraham Lincoln of Illinois.....	102
Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania.....	50 1/2
Salmon P. Chase of Ohio.....	49
Edward Bates of Missouri.....	48

On the third ballot Lincoln had 231 1/2 as against Seward's 180, whereupon changes



JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE.

began and continued until Lincoln had 354 out of 446, and his nomination was assured.

New York sat sullen, crushed, defeated, disappointed, amazed.

The delegates looked aghast, while every man upon the floor, with the exception of themselves, was shouting, waving, in unison with 15,000 spectators, whose fire of enthusiasm glowed as it burned. "New York, New York" rang throughout the hall.

Not a word.

"New York, New York," shouted thousands of voices.

William M. Evarts, pale, thin, nervous, wiry, like a ghost in black, walked amid thunders of plaudits to the platform and stepped upon a table. If ever his nerves were shaken, if ever his heart was wrung, if ever he faced apparent annihilation, if ever he drank the very dregs of bitterness and disappointment, that was the moment. Waiting for a subsidence of the storm he calmly looked about, and then, with incisive sentence and clean cut utterance phrased the disappointment New York felt that her favorite son had not been the choice of his brethren, and wound up by moving that the nomination of Abraham Lincoln be made unanimous. This motion was seconded by John A. Andrew of Massachusetts, and carried with wild, tumultuous shouts, which rose to the proportions of mountainous upheaval as a full-length oil painted portrait of Abraham Lincoln was brought into the wigwam and placed behind the speaker's chair. The ticket was completed by the nomination of Hannibal Hamlin of Maine.

Now for it!

There were four tickets in the field. The one nominated in Charleston Douglas, the one in Baltimore Breckinridge, a third called the constitutional union party, also in Baltimore, John Bell of Tennessee, with

Boston



Edward Everett of Massachusetts for vice president, and Lincoln.

A more exciting campaign was never known.

Divisions at the North meant much. They literally separated families, they broke friendships, they severed social relations, they affected trade and commerce; to a certain extent they paralyzed the industries of the entire country. I would be fully in view of subsequent developments, to pretend that the violent elements in the South were not full of joy at the prospect. I. Breckinridge were to be elected, slavery and again won the victory. If Lincoln were chosen, the long hoped for opportunity to leave the Union had been secured. A sense of hostility that permeated the parties in national politics were transfused into the veins of every State. Never was there a more bitter contest than that waged between the several parties seeking to elect a governor that fall, in the State of Massachusetts. There were four gubernatorial candidates there, John A. Andrew, Republican; Erasmus D. Beach, Douglas Democrat; Edmund A. Lawrence, Bell, and Benjamin F. Butler, Breckinridge Democrat. New England well remembers that bitter struggle, which went hand in hand with the presidential fight, as bitterly fought in the old Bay State and in the calm recesses of New England's hamlets as in the more evenly divided cities of the North and West, where influential merchants bent the knee to the cotton planters of the South, and secession sympathizers gave blatant support to the ticket, which meant, if successful, a disruption of the Union and a bursting of the bonds of brotherhood.

At that time Mr. Lincoln lived in Springfield, Ill.

The nation is familiar with Lincoln's personality as that of an over tall, shakily-built, hollow-cheeked, sad-eyed, stooping man, with a straggly beard. The true Lincoln was no such person. He was over tall, to be sure, but his limbs were in fair proportion. He wore no beard at that time, and his manner was bright, alert, active. In repose his face had a suggestion of sadness, but it was born of a quiet dignity which was perfectly natural to him. He knew how to draw the line between familiarity and rudeness. Thousands of men were familiar with "old Abe" Lincoln, but no man was ever intentionally rude a second time to Abraham Lincoln. He was gentleness and courtesy personified. He had not the air of a dancing master, nor was he versed in the perfunctory punctiliousness of polite society, but he was very far from a boor. He was a natural born man, strong in will and purpose—tenacious of opinions carefully come to, courteous to opponents, quick to see their weakness, equally ready to acknowledge and prepare to meet their strength. A very much misunderstood man was Abraham Lincoln, because people have judged him largely by the flippant photographs of men who saw but little of him on the one hand, or from the over characterization of others, who confined their pictures to the jovialities, the eccentricities, the anecdotal peculiarities of a man whom they after all very little appreciated.

The election in the South was a farce.

There was no pretence of competition. A better illustration of a solid South could not be asked than was furnished on the 6th of November, 1860.

Elsewhere the contest was determined.

Here and there supporters of Douglas, Beecher and Breckinridge united on a common ticket. Especially noticeable was that in New York. Mr. Douglas spoke in many States, but although his eloquence was applauded, his rhetoric admired, his canvass was not a success, and he retired disheartened. The result showed that 180 electoral votes had been cast for Mr. Lincoln, the remainder 123 being divided among his three opponents. In the free States Lincoln received of the popular vote 1,861,180, while Douglas received 1,124,040.

The united North virtually had triumphed, for the first time, over a united South.

A Republican president had been elected whose embarrassments already great, were

also opposition in the Supreme Court, as in the Senate, already settled.

Thus stood Lincoln and the country, face to face, on the night of Nov. 6, 1860—the country broken into factions bitterly hating each other, Lincoln with a task before him such as no mortal man before him had, and none since his day has been called to perform.

I have never believed that the South in its entirety sympathized with secession.

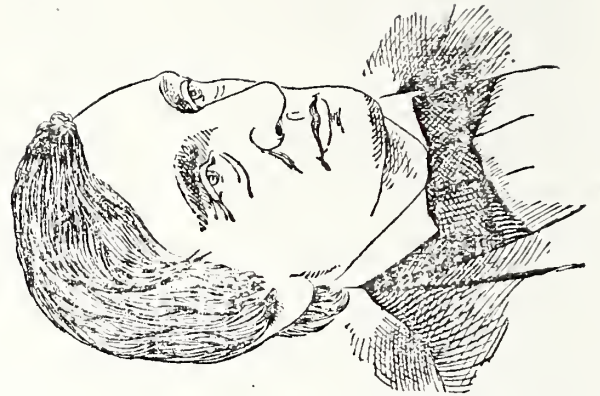
The blatant talk of seceders, representatives, governors, before the war, who behaved gallantly during the war, but who are now greedily grasping for office, shows distinctly and clearly that human nature in the South is like human nature in the North, and that human nature is human nature everywhere.

Secession in the South was but a cant word for politics.

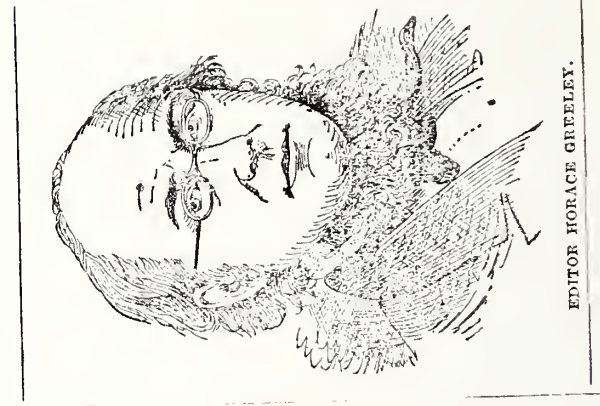
Politicians and statesmen ever utilized it as a weapon. The poor whites of the South certainly didn't desire secession. The slaves knew nothing about it one way or the other. It wasn't to the interest of any grade of labor. None but the politicians could derive benefit from it. The public speakers there as everywhere created a public sentiment, the newspapers

there as everywhere followed public sentiment. The masses of the people were led there, precisely as they are led here or elsewhere. The sentiment which expresses itself in Judge Lynch action, stirring a community to such a pitch of excitement as warrants an indulgence in brutal crime in the name of law, we see here, precisely as it can be seen there, or in any other part of the world, where men, women and children exist. That preparations for secession were made months before Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, is a well-known fact. President Buchanan was ambitious, to be sure, but he was timid, weak, and Greeley is authority for the record that "repeatedly during Buchanan's last year he said, 'I am the last president of the United States.'" Buchanan argued and believed that the federal government had no constitutional right to defend its own existence. It would be unfair to say he was cognizant of what was going on in the forts, arsenals, armies and sub-treasuries of the Union in the Southern States, but surely he knew of the surrender of General Twiggs on the 18th of February, 1861, and it is incredible that with the means of obtaining information in his hands he could, without criminal neglect, have remained in ignorance. However that may be, in face of the cowardice, timidity, vacillation, weak-heartedness of other men then, and in subsequent hours of peril, the country can well afford to allow Buchanan's reputation to rest, and content itself with the historic fact that naked rebellion with its torch and axe made wild sport of the nation's fair fame, until after the inauguration of Buchanan's successor.

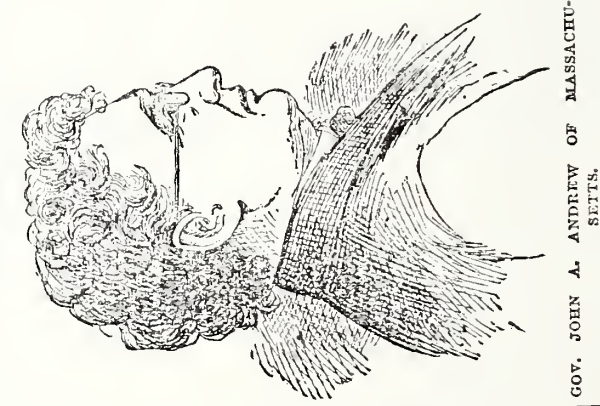
[On Sunday next, July 1, Mr. Joseph Howard will continue the story of Abraham Lincoln's part in the eventful period of 1861-65, and will sketch in his vivid and powerful style the exciting months from November, 1860, to March, 1861. Those were the months that intervened between Lincoln's election and his inauguration, and they were full of portentous indications of the great national tragedy that was coming.—ED. GLOBE.]



WILLIAM M. EVARTS.



EDITOR HORACE GREELEY.



GOV. JOHN A. ANDREW OF MASSACHUSETTS.



HANNIBAL HAMLIN.



# LINCOLN THE PATRIOT

## The Friend of Humanity and Equal Rights.

## THE COUNTRY'S DEBT TO HIM

**Sprung From the People, No One Better Understood His Duty to Them, in Which He Never Wavered—His Speeches and Writings, His Gettysburg Address.**

The campaign of 1860 witnessed the most remarkable contest and alignment of political parties ever known in our history. No less than three factions of the dominant party confronted the Republican party in its second battle before the people. Douglas, the regular nominee at Baltimore, was distrusted by the South, and Breckinridge was nominated by the seceders. Bell was also nominated by what was termed the Constitutional party. This division of parties seemed almost providential, and the man of the people, the great friend of humanity and good government was elected—Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois. It matters little who nominated him or who supported him, he was the true representative of the people, the third great apostle of common sense in government.

As a public man at this time, he was but little known outside of his own State. But after his nomination for the high office of President, every important and trivial incident of his life was soon brought to the attention of the people. He was made the subject of ridicule by some of the wealthy aristocracy and not a few brainless stump orators. But the plain people listened with interest and did their own thinking, and when the votes were counted he was the victor. They had judged their man and made no mistake, for his sympathies were with the common people. Born in a log cabin, his muscles had been inured to honest toil from boyhood. Self-made, self-reliant, manly, honest, he was one of God's true noblemen; reared among the sturdy yeomanry of the West, that honored men for their good qualities and not by their income. How fitting that such a man should be at the helm of state at such a time!

His trip to Washington was an ovation. Throughout the journey the people turned out to greet him, irrespective of party. His speeches at Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, New York, Albany, Harrisburg, Trenton and Philadelphia were characteristic of the man—plain and direct, without ambiguity, and without deception.

When it came his time to take the oath, preparatory to entering on the duties of his office, the eyes of the whole country were on him—friends as well as foes. None of his predecessors had been inaugurated under like circumstances, and none of his successors are likely to be.

"There is a tide in the affairs of men," and at this time it was running high, threatening the very existence of the republic. A great struggle was approaching; thoughtful men were thinking and patriots doubting. Were the sacrifices of our fathers and the labors of wise statesmen to come to naught? The horizon was dark and ominous. Warlike demonstrations were everywhere visible. Companies were being mustered and drilled; secret messages flew

through the air, and the people were torn by the liberties of its own people or too weak to maintain its own existence?"

To this question the valor and patriotism of America have given a negative answer, across the bloody chasm, filled with the best and bravest men, both of the North and of the South.

And further on, alluding to the reliance on the common people, he said:

"I am most happy to believe that the plain people understand and appreciate this. It is worthy of note that in this, the Government's hour of trial, large numbers of those in the Army and Navy who have been favored with the offices have resigned and proved false to the hand which had pampered them, but not one common soldier or sailor is known to have deserted his flag."

What high encomium to the loyalty and faithfulness of the rank and file of the Army and Navy, and how richly they deserved it by their record in the four years of trial and courage, that was so soon to follow.

It was not dukes and nobles that won our independence; they fight no battles except such as promise to give new titles and power. Aristocracy wages no wars but for personal gain or advantages that promise to lift them above the common herd. It is the "plain people" that have joined hands in every struggle for liberty and the rights of man. All our victories we owe to them and they are the hope of the country in every hour of danger. All honor to the rank and file of the Army and Navy, and to Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Hancock, Farragut and Porter, and the other gallant leaders who led them to victory. But it is not our purpose to recall the incidents of that fierce and costly struggle, when—

"There was mounting in hot haste, the steed,

The mastering squadron and the clattering car,

Went pouring forward with impetuous speed,

And swiftly forming in the ranks of war."

Hurriedly passing the deadly rain of shot and shell at Vicksburg, Fredericksburg, Gettysburg and Petersburg, we hasten on to Appomattox, where the supremacy of the National Government was acknowledged, and our flag again floated over every foot of American soil.

All hail, to a reunited people! All hail, to our country's flag! All hail, to its long, white bars of peace! All hail, to its red stripes of war, by which we have been scourged and purified! All hail, to its blue field of glory, lit up with forty-five stars; may they shine on, undimmed, forever!

Throughout this protracted civil strife Lincoln was true and loyal to the cause of popular government and human liberty, and loyal to all who supported that cause, irrespective of political differences. His correspondence with the commanders of fleets and armies and his state papers would fill a volume. He accepted great responsibilities and encouraged this quality in his subordinates. That Lee's army never entered the Capital was due more to his management than to his generals. The details of campaigns were closely inspected, and every objectionable order in the field was modified or overruled from the Executive Mansion. He weighed every chance of victory or defeat with masterly powers, and touched the chords of popular opinion with wonderful accuracy. The services he rendered to his country are inestimable.

He fell in the flush of victory, when the people were rejoicing over the triumph of our arms; when mothers were expecting the return of their sons from the field; when wife and children were rejoicing at an early return of husband and father; and when bells were ringing the glad notes of peace and good will, it was then that this grand soul was laid on his country's altar—the richest and truest sacrifice to free-

His proclamation of emancipation was the result of thoughtful, slow development—"an act of justice warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity."

It was in full accord with the principles of Jefferson and the best thought of the age, and has proved to be an unseen blessing to the South as well as the Republic. Restoring the Government to the broad foundations of liberty and equality as designed by its immortal founders, and removing, we trust, the last obstacle to its unity and perpetuation, the act was characteristic of the man. His humanity included all classes and races of men. To use his own words, in a letter to Hon. H. W. Hoffman:

"I wish all men to be free. I wish the prosperity of all those already free."

The "almighty dollar" did not control him or influence his judgments. Principle was his polar star and shaped his course and conduct. On one occasion he said:

"Gold is good in its place, but living, brave and patriotic hearts are better than gold." Such are some of the teachings which this great man has left as a legacy to his countrymen.

In a speech at Pittsburg, delivered when on his way to Washington as President-elect, he clearly defined his position on the tariff. The Morrill bill was then before Congress, and the manufacturers of that city sought his opinions on the subject. He declined to interfere with legislation in Congress except to recommend measures for the general welfare or veto such measures as he deemed injurious, saying that Congress should originate as well as execute its measures without external bias, then said:

"I would, therefore, recommend to every gentleman who knows he is to be a member of the next Congress to take a large view, and inform himself so as to contribute his part to such an adjustment of the tariff as shall provide sufficient revenue for the Government, and in its bearings, as far as possible, be just and equal to all sections of the country and all classes of our people."

It is evident from this language that he favored a tariff for the support of the Government, not to foster trusts and monopolies. His position on this question is strengthened by a paragraph taken from his first message to Congress:

"This is a struggle for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men; to lift artificial weights from their shoulders; to clear the path of laudable pursuit for all, and to afford all an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life."

These are sound, common-sense principles, that commend themselves to the inner consciousness of men—self-evident and irrefutable.

At this time, when political leaders are seeking to retire the greenbacks by converting them into interest-bearing bonds, for the speculation of bankers, it may be well to recall the opinion of Lincoln in reference to this kind of our currency. In a letter to Col. E. D. Taylor, of Chicago (famously called "Dick"), who was the father of the greenback idea, the President wrote:

"We gave to the people of the republic the greatest blessing they ever had—their own paper to pay their own debts."

Among the last acts of his life was a message for the miners of the far West. This was embodied in a letter addressed to Mr. Colfax, and dated April 14, 1865, in which he said:

"Tell the miners for me that I intend to promote their interests to the utmost of my ability, because their prosperity is the prosperity of the nation, and we shall prove in a few years that we are the treasury of the world."

Less than eight years afterward this wise policy was reversed by a wicked conspiracy between the bankers of Europe and America, by which the act of February 12, 1873, was passed, and one of the great industries



never been questioned were on the fence. The flag which had been the symbol of national pride and glory was, in certain sections of the country, insulted and trailed in the dust. Such was the condition of our country when Lincoln delivered his inaugural address.

As a speaker his power was remarkable. On ordinary occasions his homely phrases and native humor frequently punctured his common sense and logic. He had the rare faculty of making his arguments plain to the common people, and was able to rise to the dignity of any occasion.

At the dedication of the Gettysburg National Cemetery he followed the eloquent and polished Edward Everett, and who will say that he did not reach the full height of his subject? That short speech has been translated into many languages, and is published as a model of pure and terse English in our schoolbooks. How strong, forcible and pathetic it is!

So in his address before his countrymen from the front of the Capitol he fully measured up to the occasion. His masterly plea for the Union and constitutional government was unequalled. The reader will thank us for a few brief extracts, as indicative alike of his forcible logic and of his courage and patriotism.

"Seventy-two years have passed since the first inauguration of a President under our National Constitution. During that period fifteen different and very distinguished citizens have, in succession, administered the executive branch of the Government. They have conducted it through many perils with great success. Yet with all this scope of precedent, I now enter on the same task for the constitutional term of four years under great and peculiar difficulties. A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now fearfully attempted. I hold that in contemplation of universal law and the Constitution the Union of these States is perpetual.

"You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You can have both registered in heaven to destroy the Government, while I shall have the most of you to preserve, protect and defend it."

"A majority held in restraint by constitutional check and limitation, changing with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it, does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or to despotism."

"The Chief Magistrate derives all his authority from the people."

"We are not enemies, but friends. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chord of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone of the Republic, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely it will be, by the better angels of our nature."

How prophetic seems the closing paragraph! The better angels have again touched the chords, and the grand chorus of the Union swells from the lakes to the oceans.

There was to be no backward step. The people had put the right man in the executive chair. His firm stand for the Union and the Constitution was applauded by every patriot, and his appeals were responded to with promptness and unanimity.

"They gathered from the hillsides,  
They gathered from the plain,  
Shouting the battle cry of freedom."

Attention is directed to one or two brief passages from his first message to Congress:

"The issue embraces more than the fate of the United States. It presents to the whole family of man the question whether a constitutional republic—a government of the people, by the same people—can or cannot maintain its territorial integrity against its own domestic foes. Must a gov-

By courage, manly toil and fidelity to every duty, he had reached the summit of the mountain, and had been permitted to enjoy a glimpse of the resplendent prospects of a reunited people with the flag of freedom over all. The sterling qualities of his mind and heart, as shown in his public life, stand out on the records of his time with colossal grandeur, combining in his manly form the patriotism of Washington, the simplicity of Jefferson, and the heroism of Jackson.

"His deeds became his monument,  
Better than brass or stone;  
They leave his name on Glory's roll,  
Unrivaled and alone."

Nature, principle and experience made him the friend of the workman. In his first message to Congress he said:

"Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration.

"No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty—none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against them, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them, till all of liberty shall be lost!"

Such words commend him to the toilers of our country, and should induce them to study his writings and build upon his wholesome teachings. The warning words at the close of this quotation should never be forgotten. Remember that the ballot is the weapon referred to, which, if surrendered or bartered away, will carry with it your rights, liberties and independence.

Like Jefferson, he believed in the equality of all men before the law. He did not believe in a system of government that "makes the rich richer, and the poor poorer," but in one that "showers its blessings alike upon all."

In a speech at Philadelphia, February 22, 1861, he said:

"I have never had a feeling, politically, that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence."

At this time, when legislation is drifting in the interest of the rich; when labor is depressed and unemployed; when wages are minimized, and the prices of the products of the mine and farm are less than ever before in the history of the country; when taxes and mortgages are accumulating, and want and distress are at the firesides of the poor; when the contest between labor and capital is in the balance; and the question whether the millions of honest toilers shall become the slaves of a moneyed aristocracy is yet to be settled, these ringing words of the great Commoner have a peculiar significance. The issue is momentous, and involves all that is worth saving in the republic—the rights, liberties and independence of the American people. Lincoln's own words are not too strong:

"This Government must be preserved in spite of the acts of any man or set of men. It is worth your every effort. Nowhere in the world is presented a government of so much liberty and equality. To the humblest and poorest among us are held out the highest privileges and positions."

Again he said:  
"We cannot escape history. We will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down, in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation. In giving freedom to the slave we assure freedom to the free. We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope of earth."

of the country, which Lincoln declared to be "the prosperity of the nation," was stricken down, crippled and destroyed.

He was not the partisan that sees nothing good in any one who holds different political views. He formed his opinions from the evidence, without bias. In a letter to Carl Schurz, who had complained of him for intrusting responsible commands to Democrats, Lincoln wrote:

"Baker, Lyon, Rollin and Richardson, Republicans, did all that men can do (giving their lives for their country), but did they any more than Kearney, Stevens, Reno, or Mansfield, neither of whom were Republicans?"

His cutting reply to the Albany Democrats, who complained of the use of arbitrary powers in a case which the language will itself explain, must have been conclusive:

"The general that arrested Vallandigham was a Democrat, and the judge that refused to discharge him on habeas corpus was a Democrat of better days than these, having received his judicial mantle at the hands of President Jackson. Of all those Democrats who are nobly exposing their lives and shedding their blood on the battlefield, I have learned that many of them approve it and none condemns it." The reader will notice the sting at the Buchanan and Justice Taney brand of Democracy—"a Democrat of better days than these"—a Jacksonian Democrat.

Thirty-two years have passed and the American people are turning to the life and public services of this great patriot with marked unanimity and veneration. His fame and character have passed the test of public scrutiny, and the general verdict is that he was one of the greatest men of the Republic. Among all the great minds of that stormy period he rises above them all—the central figure of his day. His deeds have outlived the prejudices and passions of his time, and a just meed of praise is now accorded him by his once bitter opponents. The verdict of the people is always right when they have time to consider and weigh the evidence. Emerson, the great philosopher, paid him the following tribute:

"He stood before us as a man of the people. He was thoroughly American; had never crossed the sea; had never been spoiled by English insularity, or French dissipation; no aping of foreigners, no frivolous accomplishments, Kentuckian born, working on a farm, flatboatman, a captain in the Blackhawk war, a country lawyer, a representative in the legislature of Illinois—on such modest foundation the broad structure of his fame was laid. How slowly, and yet by happily-prepared steps he came to his place. There, by his courage, his justice, his even temper, his fertile counsel, his humanity, he stood the heroic figure in the center of an heroic epoch."

From education and instinct he was the enemy of every form and species of injustice and oppression. True to humanity, liberty and good government, his life and services are a living incentive to all good citizens that "a government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth." His character is unique in our history. His origin, rise and public career are among the marvelous achievements of the Republic, and our youth should study this great model as an incentive force to laudable ambition, manliness, honesty, patriotism and faithfulness to public trust and duty.

It is said that the great Napoleon pillored his head on the book of Joshua and drank in the inspiration of that great warrior. We know that Lincoln received his political inspiration from the writings of Jefferson, and was in full accord with the principles and policies of that great leader. With the brief extracts we have made from his teachings, we leave the verdict to be determined by the reader, hoping that every citizen of the Republic may study the writings of these three great leaders—political truth and common sense—Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln.

J. I. THOMPSON.

Schuyler Gazette  
Oct. 19, 1912.

## ELECTION OF 1860 MOST IMPORTANT IN OUR HISTORY

Was That in Which Lincoln Was  
Elected and Immediately Pre-  
ceded the Civil War—The Can-  
didates of Other Parties.

### PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

#### XVIII.—The Four-Cornered Fight of 1860.

(By Frederic J. Haskin.)

The Presidential contest of 1860 stands out as the most momentous in American history. The issues were such that most sober men realized that civil war was the inevitable outcome, and there were some who were willing that it should come early and be over with. When Alexander H. Stephens, afterward Vice President of the Southern Confederacy, left the United States Senate, he said he was leaving Washington perhaps never to return, except it be as a prisoner of war. He said he regarded war as inevitable if Lincoln were elected, and it was fairly certain that he would be after the Democrats split so hopelessly at Charleston and at Baltimore.

There was a possibility in that campaign that the opposition to Lincoln could poll enough electoral votes to prevent him from getting a majority and a hope that the election would thus be thrown into the House. It was figured that in a House election the best Lincoln could do would be to get the votes of fifteen states, while Breckinridge would expect twelve states. The other states would probably go to Douglas first and then to Breckinridge, giving the latter the Presidency, or failing in that, Lane, the Vice Presidential candidate on the Breckinridge ticket, would in the meantime be elected Vice President by the Senate and would succeed to the Presidency.

But all these calculations proved vain, for when the returns came in, Lincoln, although receiving only two-fifths of the popular vote of the country, got a clear majority of the electoral vote. There was a fusion of the anti-Lincoln tickets in Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey, but even fusion could not stem the Republican tide which was to sweep the Democracy out of power and precipitate history's bloodiest war.

Lincoln always felt that he won his fight for the Presidency in his senatorial canvass with Stephen A.

Douglas in Illinois, in 1858. Against the continued advice of his friends he persisted in asking Senator Douglas if territory could determine for itself whether it should be "slave" or "free." They told him Douglas surely would answer that it could, and that answer would re-elect him to the Senate. "That's all right," answered Lincoln, "It's bigger game than a senatorship I'm stalking. If he answers yes, he breaks with his party in the south and loses the Presidency. And the battle of 1860 is going to be worth a hundred of this one."

Lincoln's prophecy proved true. The south was determined to have the right to take its slaves into any of the territories of the country, and asserted that the only time the question could be settled was when a territory became a state and the citizens could vote upon the question. Douglas went to the Democratic national convention at Charleston with a majority of the delegates in his favor, but California and Oregon, voting with the south, gave the anti-Douglas element control of the committees and the convention locked horns over the platform.

The Douglas adherents wanted the sort of platform the party had when it elected Buchanan four years before. The other platform pronounced slaves property and gave a citizen the right to take them wherever he would. About fifty delegates bolted, the anti-Douglas platform prevailed, the convention came to a deadlock on candidates with Douglas possessing a clear majority but not the necessary two-thirds, and then it adjourned to Baltimore to finish its work. Here, when the southern delegations found the Douglas people in the saddle, they promptly withdrew, taking with them the permanent chairman, Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts. The regular convention nominated Douglas, the bolting convention chose Breckinridge as its standard bearer, and the bolters from the Charleston convention in session at Richmond, ratified the choice of Breckinridge.

There was a large party in the country made up of old line Whigs who were conservative. They were neither secessionists nor rabid anti-slavery men, but they were for the preservation of the Union. They adopted a short platform, simply announcing their faith in the constitution and their fealty to the Union. They nominated Bell and Everett and their appeal was for peace.

The Republicans met in Chicago, and there in the first "Wigwam," surrounded by ten thousand spectators, adopted their platform and nominated their ticket. The leading candidates before the convention were William H. Seward of New York, with the field against him; Abraham Lincoln, strong in the west but little known elsewhere, and Edward Bates, an old line Whig of Missouri, who was put forward by Horace Greely and others as an answer



to the charge that the Republican party was geographical or sectional.

Seward's identification with Know Nothingism and his famous "irrepressible conflict" speech hurt him in many sections. William Cullen Bryant pronounced him a good man in bad company, doubtless having in mind the story that Thurlow Weed had proposed to give charters to certain New York street railways if they in turn would give half a million dollars to the Republican campaign fund if Seward were nominated.

When the balloting began it looked as if it would be impossible to defeat Seward, whose candidacy was in the hands of the master-politician, Thurlow Weed. Even so hostile an observer as Greeley telegraphed his paper that it looked as though Seward had the bulge on the situation, and Murat Halstead advised his papers to the same effect. But during the night David Davis, who was managing Lincoln's fight, against explicit and underscored instructions from his chief not to enter upon any deal, agreed with Caleb Smith that he should have a cabinet position if Indiana's vote were swung to Lincoln, and made the same sort of a deal with Cameron of Pennsylvania.

Another incident believed to have had a bearing on the result, was the organization of a big clique in the galleries in favor of Lincoln. Determined that the voice of Illinois should be heard literally in the convention, a citizen of Chicago, famous for a voice

that was able to make itself heard above the roaring of the mightiest tempest, was employed to lead the Lincoln cheering. He was assisted by a Democrat, a Dr. Ames of the same city. Meanwhile the Seward "enthusiasm brigade" was off parading the city with a string of brass bands, and by the time they returned to the "Wigwam" the galleries were filled with Lincoln supporters and the fire doors closed.

One of the amusing incidents of the convention was the introduction by Joshua Giddings of an amendment to the platform, reaffirming the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence which says that all men are created free and equal. The convention voted it down and Giddings walked out. Later George William Curtis addressed the delegates and wanted to know if they were willing to go on record as voting down the best part of the Declaration of Independence. The convention reconsidered, adopted the amendment, and pacified Giddings and his friends.

John Hanks made the popular slogan of the "rail splitter for President" in the Illinois state convention two years before, when he walked into it carrying on his shoulder two rails bearing the legend: "From a lot made by Abraham Lincoln and John Hanks in the Sangamon Valley in 1830."

The growth of the abolition sentiment in the minds of the leaders of the Republican party is illustrated by

the fact that when Lincoln delivered one of his famous pre-convention speeches he was careful to say: "Wrong as we think slavery is, we can yet afford to let it alone where it is, because that much is due to the necessity arising from its actual presence in the nation."

The campaign of 1860 was not as noisy as the one which went before, and there was not as much feeling in evidence as there was four years previous. It was marked by an attempt on the part of the three anti-Republican parties to get together. Bell of the Constitutional Union party, wanted all three of the candidates to withdraw and concentrate on one man. He authorized Jefferson Davis, afterward president of the Southern Confederacy, to enter upon negotiations looking to that end. Breckinridge also expressed to Davis his willingness to acquiesce in such an arrangement, but Douglas declared that matters had gone too far for him to withdraw, since he believed that withdrawal would mean that the bulk of his support would go to Lincoln. But there had been a time when Douglas was willing to withdraw. He sent a letter to the Baltimore convention saying that if he stood in the way of harmony, his name should be removed from consideration. When this was suppressed, he sent a telegram of the same import to the chairman of the New York delegation, but this shared the same fate and Douglas was nominated. He said on the stump that if he could have had the unanimous nomination of his party on its platform of four years previous, Lincoln could have carried only Vermont and Massachusetts.

The campaign was characterized by the first big stories of corruption funds. It was asserted that William B. Astor had given a million dollars to carry New York against Lincoln, and that other big merchants had duplicated his contribution, the grounds of the opposition being that Lincoln's election would result in secession and that would cut their business in twain.



# THURLOW WEED LINCOLN'S FRIEND

New York Editor and Statesman  
Shown to Have Had His  
Complete Confidence.

## AIDED IN SELECTING CABINET

As Leader in Politics of the Empire  
State Mr. Weed Was Invited  
to Springfield to Talk Over  
the Coming Presi-  
dent's Advisers.

1513

New traits of the character of Abraham Lincoln, his appreciation of a compliment, his own estimate of his inaugural address and his insistence on telling the truth, even though it were not only unpopular but humiliating to himself, are revealed in a letter of a long correspondence between him and Thurlow Weed, first editor of the Albany Evening Journal, and for many years the Republican leader of the state.

The letter written by Mr. Weed has not been preserved, but it was in praise of President Lincoln's inaugural address and of his speech of notification. But the answer is in the possession of William Barnes, Jr., of Albany, chairman of the Republican state committee and grandson of Mr. Weed. In it President Lincoln expresses the opinion that the inaugural address will wear as well as or better than anything else he has produced.

It is not at all likely that the present generation will agree with his estimate of the lasting qualities of the address. Few persons now know, except in the most general way, what it was about, while his Gettysburg address has become one of the classics of the English language.

Mr. Weed was one of the strong personalities of the convention at Chicago which nominated Lincoln, the head of the New York delegation, and in charge of the campaign which had for its purpose the nomination of William H. Seward, generally regarded as the leading candidate.

The defeat of Governor Seward was a great disappointment to Mr. Weed, and as he was preparing to leave the convention city he was asked to visit Mr. Lincoln at Springfield. He did not do so at that time, but went to Iowa, where he had planned to rest, but on his way back to Albany he did stop and had a five hour conversation with the nominee of his party.

It was that conversation that began a friendship that lasted through the life of Mr. Lincoln, and this last letter was one of many that passed between the men. They were ordinarily in relation to national matters, but not infrequently the personal element crept in.

They did not meet again until after the election, when Mr. Lincoln invited the leader of the party in New York to Springfield to talk over the make-up of a cabinet. Although Mr. Weed had selected governors and their cabinets in New York state, this was the first time he had ever been asked by a president for assistance of that kind, and he told Mr. Lincoln so. They discussed men under consideration, but Mr. Weed admitted in his autobiography that the men were Mr. Lincoln's selection, and when he objected to this one or that one the president-elect would turn the conversation by one of his inimitable stories.

Some of the letters showed that Mr. Lincoln had a grasp of political detail with which he had not been credited. After his election and before his inaugural he used Mr. Weed to convey to a convention of editors his view on secession, and in one and another the correspondence was kept up even during the trying days of the Civil war.



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### Lincoln's Election

**A**BRAHAM LINCOLN and Woodrow Wilson were elected in the same way!

The regular Republicans nominated Taft; the progressive Republicans nominated Roosevelt, and because of the divided Republican Party, Wilson won.

But the first time Wilson did not have a majority of the nation's votes.

In the pre-Civil War election the Northern Democrats nominated Douglas; the Southern Democrats nominated Breckenridge; and because of the divided Democratic Party, Lincoln was elected.

But Lincoln did not receive the majority of the votes of the country.

KESSINGER'S MID-WEST REVIEW  
*February, 1928*





# HEARING THE RETURNS WITH MR. LINCOLN

*Of events in American history during the last seventy-five years, what more prized assignment could there have been for a newspaper reporter than to have "covered" Abraham Lincoln on election day, 1860? Below are reminiscences of that day in Springfield, Ill., by the late Samuel R. Weed, who was then a reporter for a St. Louis newspaper. They were written nearly fifty years ago and are now published for the first time.*

By SAMUEL R. WEED

THE day and night with Abraham Lincoln of which I shall tell were the most important in his life and, in the tremendous consequences which ensued, the most important to the country at large. I refer to the 6th day of November, 1860, and to the night which followed it. This was election day—the day which made Abraham Lincoln President of the United States.

At that time I was connected with the press of St. Louis and was delegated to spend the day and the night in Springfield, Ill., the home of Mr. Lincoln. My special duty was to remain as near to Mr. Lincoln as possible and to prepare an account of such incidents as might be deemed interesting to the public in connection with his movements on that memorable day, which was to make his life a part of American history or retire him for a while at least from the public gaze.

I reached Springfield about 10 o'clock in the morning and, armed with my credentials and letters of introduction, was soon in Mr. Lincoln's presence. I found him in a private room attached to the office of the Illinois Secretary of State, which he had occupied as a sort of headquarters for several weeks. When I entered, he was chatting with three or four friends as calmly and as amiably as if he had started

## The Unpublished Story of a Reporter Who Spent Election Day of 1860 in Springfield With the Candidate

was in better health than before. He hoped that the bitterness of the canvass would pass away "as easily as the core of a boil."

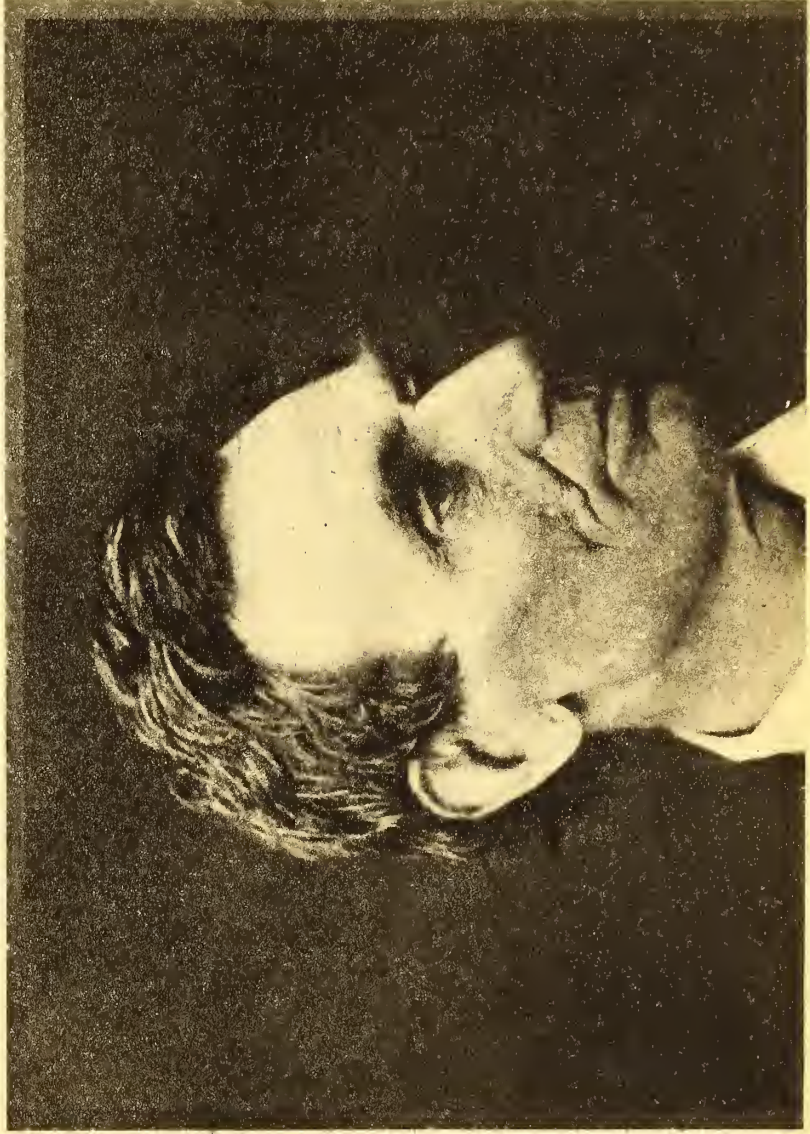
There were many quaint sayings by Mr. Lincoln during the day in reply, or by way of repartee, to remarks made in his presence. The idea seemed general even among his intimate friends that it was the proper thing to provoke from him something funny by saying something in his presence which would be called "smart" or "witty" and

by a Presbyterian church in McLean County in Illinois holding a congregational meeting to vote a call to a pastor. The elders and deacons and principal men in the church had united in recommending a certain man, and it was supposed he would be called unanimously; but in an evil hour somebody got hold of the man's likeness and exhibited it to the sisters. They didn't like the wart he had on his nose, so they turned out in force and voted down the call. There was a constant

We remained together until the lunch hour arrived and then separated for an hour. When he returned to the State House he announced that he would now go out and vote, as he believed it to be every man's duty to vote, whether he was a candidate or not. He went forth from the building

safely through the trying scenes to come." I recall these words now with some pleasure because they have been abundantly justified by later events.

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majority he received in his Democratic home.

Mr. Lincoln did not long remain outdoors but speedily returned to his old quarters in the State House, pursued to the very door by some of his more eager admirers. By 4 o'clock he began to receive occasional telegrams giving estimates of the majorities or votes in several localities. Among them was a curious dispatch from Charleston, S. C., expressing a hope that Mr. Lincoln had been elected because, if so, South Carolina "would soon be free." He laughed at this message because the sentiment seemed a familiar one inasmuch as (he explained to me) he had received several letters, some signed by the writers, and some anonymous, of the same tenor and effect. This message he handed to Mr. Hatch and told him that the sender of it would bear watching. I did not see the message to read it, but was told it was from an ex-member of Congress.

There were telegrams likewise from Indiana and Pennsylvania, giving Mr. Lincoln good cheer from those States and somebody sent him a dispatch from Boston to the effect that Massachusetts had given the Republicans 50,000—a clear case, Mr. Lincoln said, of the Dutch taking Holland.

Now the little private room was well filled with friends and fellow citizens who came to exchange congratulations and to hear the news. It was accepted as a foregone conclusion by 5 o'clock that the Republicans had triumphed, although there were only here and there a few scattering returns (or estimates of those who had been watching the polls all day) to justify the conclusion.

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By SAMUEL R. WEDD

THE day and night with Abraham Lincoln of which I shall tell were the most important in his life and, in the tremendous consequences which ensued, the most important to the country at large. I refer to the fifth day of November, 1860, and to the night which followed it. This was election day—the day which made Abraham Lincoln President of the United States.

At that time I was connected with the press of St. Louis and was delegated to spend the day and the night in Springfield, Ill., the home of Mr. Lincoln. My special duty was to remain as near to Mr. Lincoln as possible and to prepare an account of such incidents as might be deemed interesting to the public in connection with his movements on that memorable day, which was to make his life a part of American history or retire him for a while at least from the public gaze.

I reached Springfield about 10 o'clock in the morning, and armed with my credentials and letters of introduction, was soon in Mr. Lincoln's presence. I found him in a private room attached to the office of the Illinois Secretary of State, which he had occupied as a sort of headquarters for several weeks. When I entered, he was chatting with three or four friends as calmly and as amiably as if he had started on a picnic. In this apartment he had received many of the men of forward distinguished in the councils of the nation and also on her battlefields. His manner was quiet, unaffected and gracious, and, when I informed him of my errand, he smiled and hoped I would manage to enjoy myself.

I SHALL not undertake to describe Mr. Lincoln's personal appearance. The pictures of him, then and now so well known, give a fair idea of how he looked. He was then, and always, pre-eminently a plain man. I cannot easily forget that he was tall and angular, or that he had pretty long legs, especially when they were elevated to the top of a stove, as he sat in a chair tipped backward. As I first saw him, I could not justify the reports that were everywhere circulated about his lack of personal beauty.

On this day Mr. Lincoln was in one of his most amiable moods. He did not fidget or crack jokes (as his enemies charged was his daily habit) in discussing the perilous condition of the country. I thought then and have not changed my mind since that whatever humor or sense of humor there was in him came spontaneously and that if he had tried to be humorous he would have failed.

Mr. Lincoln had a lively interest in the election, but it was noticeable that he scarcely ever alluded to himself or his candidacy. He was interested in the fortunes of the local candidates of his town, county, State and had heard that the same marks one would have concluded that the District Attorneyship of a county in Illinois was far more important than the Presidency itself. Once he mentioned a candidate for the Legislature in one of these counties who he hoped would be elected, and he would be. Mr. Lincoln added, "if he didn't find Abe Lincoln too big a load to carry on the same ticket." At another time he said that elections in this country were "big business"—they caused a great deal of pain before they came to a head, but after the trouble was over the body

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SHORTLY after 6 o'clock Mr. Lincoln sought his modest home. He remained in the privacy of his dwelling until about 7 P. M. In the interim a Republican mass meeting was organized for the purpose of receiving the returns. It was held in the Assembly Chamber of the Illinois Capitol.

While this was going on an arrangement was made with the manager of the local telegraph office in Springfield to accommodate Mr. Lincoln and a few friends in the operating room, which was in the second story of a two-story brick building opposite the State House. It probably was 7:30 o'clock when Mr. Lincoln, accompanied by his old friend, State Treasurer Dubois, O. M. Hatch, his private secretary, and myself, ascended the staircase of the Springfield telegraph office.

THE earlier returns were fragmentary and came from scattered precincts in the adjoining counties. They were Greek to me, but Mr. Lincoln seemed to understand their bearing on the general result in the State and commented upon every return by way of comparison with previous elections. He understood at a glance whether it was a loss or gain to his party. There was great gloom on his face when a dispatch arrived from Saline, in the extreme southern part of Illinois commonly known as Egypt. This county in 1856 gave just one vote for General Fremont, the Republican candidate, and nearly 2,900 for Buchanan, the Democratic candidate. But now the news was flashed over the wires that Saline gave Mr. Lincoln nearly 200 majority over Douglas. He laughed heartily and exclaimed that that was "a tribute from Egypt to the success of our public school fund." The interest of Mr. Lincoln in the local results in Illinois seemed greater than in the Presidential votes of other States.

By 9 o'clock the returns came from more distant points. They were all well received. The interest of that little circle was increased in proportion as the success of Mr. Lincoln in Illinois was apparent. Mr. Lincoln himself was the celebrant fitting prelude to the handsome



Lincoln as He Entered the Campaign—A Photograph Taken in 1860.

After Photo From the Nerve Collection.

cal friend a witty reply. Most of these attempts were decided failures. Something was said about the fusillade in New York; he remarked that they would probably get into such a row going up Salt River as to "obstruct navigation" thereafter. One of his few humorous remarks was that it was lucky for him that "the women couldn't vote," otherwise the nonpareil portraits of him which had been circulated during the canvass by friends as well as by foes would surely defeat him.

Turning to the Secretary of State of Illinois (O. M. Hatch), he said with a smile, "Hatch, I tell you there is a great deal more in that idea than you suppose."

He then related a story of a Pres-

ident of good nature in all of his sayings that day. His good nature never deserted him, and yet underneath I thought I saw an air of seriousness, which in reality dominated the man. When I returned to St. Louis on Nov. 7, 1860, I wrote the following:

"Abraham Lincoln has been pictured to the world by his political and personal enemies as a jester, a comic story-teller, a common sort of jay lawyer whose special vocation it is to raise a laugh. But he is quite as serious as a majority of men and has a serious air at times which almost borders on the solemn. I believe he will be found serious enough when the occasion requires it, and that he may be depended upon to carry the people

accompanied by myself and three or four of his immediate friends and walked rapidly across the State House Square toward the polls.

By this time "the boys" had got wind of his approach and with entire good humor began to block the way by crowding the sidewalk in front of him. In a few moments there was an impromptu ovation from his townsmen and it was with difficulty that a way was opened so that the candidate of the Republican party could carry out his intention to eat his vote. But it was a good-natured crowd and showed a warm affection for Mr. Lincoln in spite of its boisterousness. Indeed this local tribute was a fitting prelude to the handsome

out one in the room. By this time an impromptu meeting was organized on the sidewalk, composed of people who could not wait for the return in the State House meeting.

By 10 o'clock it began to be noticed that there was not a single word from New York. Mr. Lincoln betrayed his anxiety by remarking that "the news would come quite enough if it was good, and if bad, he was not in any hurry to hear it." About half past 10 a private message was received, addressed to Mr. Lincoln and signed by Thurlow Weed, which was as follows: "We are encouraged at this hour to believe you have carried this State." Mr. Lincoln read this dispatch the first time in silence and then read it aloud. He remarked that the news was satisfactory so far, only it was not conclusive.

Then the New Jersey returns began to excite surprise, as report after report gave Paulon majorities. The cheering returns from all parts of New England, which by two time, past 11 o'clock, began to arrive in profusion, banished the depressing effect of the New Jersey returns. But it is only the truth to say that the hour passed slowly and even Mr. Lincoln began to betray for the second time his anxiety about New York. It became more and more evident that New York was indeed the "pivot" State.

**A**LL our doubts were once more set in motion by the receipt of a message about 11:30 o'clock, from Silas C. Draper, chairman of the Republican State Committee, which ran thus: "We have made steady gains everywhere throughout the State, but the city returns are not sufficiently forward to make us sure of the result, although we are quite sanguine a great victory has been won."

Of course this dispatch gave the friends of Mr. Lincoln great joy. Mr. Lincoln alone was silent. He had stood up while reading the message (which was a private one addressed to himself) but now sat down and, contrary to his usual habit, said nothing. A moment later Lyman Trumbull, then United States Senator from Illinois, who had been making Republican speeches for two months in Illinois, rushed frantically into the room and, embracing Mr. Lincoln most cordially, exclaimed in a loud tone: "Uncle Abe, you're the next President, and I know it." He had just heard the Draper dispatch read and was eager to offer his congratulations.

By this time the Springfield boys



The President-elect Receiving Visitors in the State House, Springfield, in November, 1860.

had heard it, too, and the great crowd which had filled the State House surged into the street and began a wild sort of cheering, yelling and shouting like a thousand madmen suddenly let loose from their keepers. It was pretty hard to maintain even a commonplace dignity inside the telegraph office while so much noise and excitement was going on outside. But Mr. Lincoln remained calm through it all and, as he alone sat in a chair, remarked: "Not too fast, my friends. Not too fast. It may not be over yet." This was said in his slowest speech and in his most serious manner.

The next half-hour was spent in anxious suspense, lest the fear of Mr. Lincoln himself should be realized. We could not bring ourselves to believe that there was any real doubt of the result, but as it was apparent that Mr. Lincoln felt nervous and uncertain, we all shared to some extent his feelings. A multitude of dispatches continued

to arrive from all quarters, including New York. They were all so favorable that once Mr. Dubois asked, "Well, Uncle Abe, are you satisfied now?" Mr. Lincoln replied with a smile, "Well, the agony is most over, and you will soon be able to go to bed."

**A**PARTICULARLY favorable report came from Virginia to the effect that the Bell and Everett party claimed they had carried the State. Mr. Lincoln suggested that this was the most hopeful return for the peace of the country he had heard and he hoped the majority was so large as to crush out the fire eaters completely. He spoke with considerable emphasis and satisfaction about the strength shown for the conservative American ticket in the border States. Probably he was thinking even then that these votes represented a sentiment of love for the Union which would destroy the hopes of the ultra secessionists. But these minor details were soon

forgotten when the climax was reached by a sudden call from the telegraph manager, who said in a half-excited tone, "Mr. Lincoln, here is news which will do you good." He replied, "Read it." The dispatch, like the former one, was private, addressed to Mr. Lincoln and signed by Silas C. Draper. It was dated New York City, midnight, and was as follows: "The Paulon majorities in New York and Brooklyn will not exceed 35,000, which insures us the State by 50,000 majority. We tender you our congratulations upon this magnificent victory."

The dispatch was handed to Mr. Lincoln and read by him with evident marks of pleasure. He would have been a more remarkable man than Abraham Lincoln who could have concealed his pleasure upon such an occasion. That dispatch gave him the assurance of his election to the Presidency. It was a moment later read aloud from the window of the telegraph office to

the crowd in waiting, and as its last echoes rang out upon the midnight air a shout went up which was carried from street to street like the rush of many waters.

It seemed to startle men and women from their beds and many a window in Springfield was lifted and an inquiry went forth as to the cause of the shouting, although most of the people seemed to know intuitively what it meant. A church bell was rung and excited crowds began to renew the campaign songs of the early evening. In the little office there was a scene of hand-shaking and congratulation as hearty and vigorous as possible. The telegraph operators left their instruments for a moment and joined in the greetings of the occasion.

**T**HE coolest man in that company was the President-elect. When the noise had partially subsided Mr. Lincoln asked for the Draper dispatch, and when he had received it he put it into his pocket and said it was about time he "went home and told the news to a tired woman who was sitting up for him." He then called for his overcoat and when it was adjusted he thanked the telegraph manager and chief operator for their kindness and started downstairs.

A carriage was in waiting to carry him home. He was weary in body and mind and was probably as sincerely anxious as anybody to get away from the noise to the privacy of his family. But he was not to escape so easily. He was hardly at the bottom of the stairs when a fresh delegation met him and insisted that he should go with them—say, they almost dragged him to a neighboring restaurant, where in an upstairs room a spread of refreshments had been prepared by the wives and daughters of the local Republicans. With his accustomed good nature, Mr. Lincoln remarked that as he had been "in the hands of his friends for the past five months he might as well make it one night more."

The female enthusiasm bubbled up so spontaneously that somehow (and, although present, I never could tell exactly how it began) a movement was started to kiss the "dear man." Before he had time to either protest or retreat at least a half dozen girls and their mothers had saluted him with hearty kisses on the cheek—though I do not vouch for the cheek every time. His good-humored resistance was quite in vain and he finally yielded.

(Continued on Page 21)



Lincoln in the White House—The President's Reception.

the photograph with a request for a portrait of Lincoln. The photograph was taken by a group of men, including Lincoln, who were standing in a line. The photograph was taken in the White House, and it is a very famous one. It shows Lincoln in the center, surrounded by other men, all dressed in formal attire. The setting is a large room, possibly the White House, with ornate decor and a chandelier visible in the background.

# WITH LINCOLN ON ELECTION DAY

(Continued from Page 9)

with the suggestion that this was "a form of coercion not prohibited by the Constitution or Congress." He surrendered meekly enough and took the proffered kisses as one of the duties of the high office to which he had, on that day, been elected. The women simplified his task by forming a line in Indian file and circling around the table as they greeted him with their salutes on the "fire and fall back" principle.

\* \* \*

**B**Y 8 o'clock the next morning there was a booming of cannon in Springfield, and the early trains, as well as hundreds of farm wagons and vehicles of all kinds, commenced to arrive with their loads of people, anxious to see and congratulate Mr. Lincoln. He appeared in his old quarters at the State House by 10 o'clock and was speedily surrounded by his old friends and neighbors. While he seemed in good spirits and received these friendly greetings with a sincere pleasure and good nature there was a sort of sadness in his face which was remarked by more than one of those present. But he kept it under, amid the warm congratulations which poured in upon him, and conversed with all who got near enough to him for the purpose with his old-time freedom.

He sat a portion of the time in a big armchair with his feet on the

upper edge of a large stove and had a word for everybody. Very early in the day he had said to one group of callers, "Well, boys, your troubles are over now, but mine have just commenced." He repeated this remark a half-dozen times in two hours and I have no doubt it came direct from his heart.

After a while the callers became so numerous that he stood up and held a regular levee and took every offered hand.

It was amusing to witness this demonstration, but it was so natural, sincere and hearty that no one could question the admiration with which Mr. Lincoln was regarded by his neighbors.

An old gray-haired, grizzled farmer shook hands with him, and as he did so exclaimed, "Uncle Abe, I didn't vote for yer, but I am mighty glad yer elected just the same."

The President-elect quickly replied, "Well, my old friend, when a man has been tried and pronounced not guilty he hasn't any right to find fault with the jury."

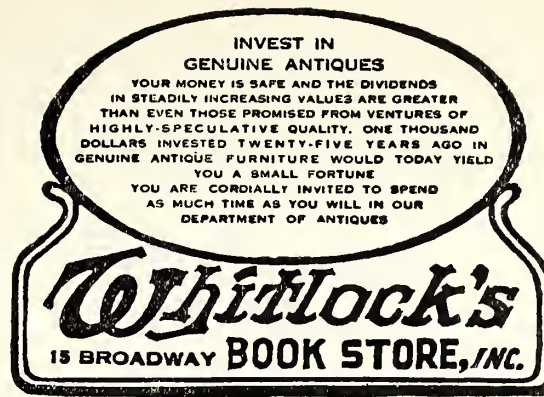
There were times, doubtless, in his after life when Mr. Lincoln seemed nobler and grander to those around him than on the day and night which witnessed his first election to the Presidency, but I doubt if he ever seemed more natural and manly or self-possessed in any emergency than on the occasion I have described.







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December 18, 1933

Mr. George A. Ball  
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Dear Mr. Ball:

We are offered the following item which we think may be of interest to you:

A NATIONAL POLITICAL CHART, 1861 - LINCOLN AND HIS CABINET. Perfect condition. The owner asks \$25.00 for this item. Parchment.

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help you don't  
have them*



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# Party Leaders Call Lincoln Political Ace

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Feb. 12 (AP)—Abraham Lincoln was praised last night as a first rate political leader by both Postmaster General James A. Farley, National Democratic Chairman, and Alf M. Landon, 1936 Republican presidential candidate.

Speaking from the same platform at a banquet here, where Lincoln lived for many years before becoming President, Mr. Farley termed the Great Emancipator "a first-class political leader" and Mr. Landon called him "a practical politician" and "a man who is remembered, not only for victories won, but for humanity served."

"Being a first-class political leader," the Postmaster General said, "Lincoln had the wisdom to call in and consult all sorts and kinds of men. Again with fine political instinct, he frequently allowed his visitors to believe that they were really initiating the policy of the country."

Mr. Farley said it seemed possible "that if Lincoln had taken office immediately upon his election in November, 1860, instead of having to wait until March of 1861, the Civil War might have been avoided."

"The reason I think so," he added, "is that passions were running high in 1860, and the only chance of avoiding the Civil War lay in bringing together, by political methods, the moderates of both the North and of the South."

"But during the months between election and inauguration, a President-elect cannot do very much to guide political movements."

Mr. Farley described democracy as "a vast co-operative scheme" and termed extremism a "crime" and a "blunder."

"Elsewhere, we see a world tearing itself to pieces as group fights group, doctrine clashes with doctrine, and nations war upon nations. Nevertheless, the United States has steadily preserved the ideal of good will, of moderation, of justice."





# ANNALS OF IOWA

A HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

OCTOBER, 1940



PUBLISHED BY THE  
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DES MOINES, IOWA

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In all ways the Department strives to present to the people of Iowa and the nation a true picture of the state. The *Annals of Iowa* is one medium through which the department seeks to gain this objective.

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AND ARCHIVES

ORA WILLIAMS, Curator

# ANNALS OF IOWA

ORA WILLIAMS, Editor

KENNETH E. COLTON, Assistant Editor

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# ANNALS OF IOWA

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Vol. XXII, No. 6    DES MOINES, IOWA, OCTOBER, 1940    THIRD SERIES

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## THE IOWA GERMANS IN THE ELECTION OF 1860

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BY CHARLES WILSON EMERY

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### THE GERMAN-AMERICANS IN NATIONAL POLITICS IN 1860

In the stormy period of the 1850's the young American nation was trying by democratic processes to determine its future way of life. Many of its statesmen had come to realize that the agrarian civilization of the South based upon slavery and the new industrial civilization of the North were incompatible. They saw that if the nation was to endure, one of these opposed cultures must predominate. It was a critical choice which the Americans were forced to make in that trying decade, and the problem was only resolved by a bitter civil war.

Strangely enough, circumstances transpired which gave the new German-American citizens, largely untrained in American ideas and ideals, an importance in deciding this question which was all out of proportion to their numerical strength. The Presidential election contest was closely fought in 1860, and the winner, Abraham Lincoln, received fewer popular votes than his combined opponents, becoming the fourth minority President of the United States. In so close an election a small minority group without strong allegiance to either party could, if well led and united, wield tremendous influence.

The German born Americans comprised such a group. Although only 1,301,136, or 4.73%, of the entire population of the United States in 1860 were of German birth, the fact that the great majority of these immigrants had settled in those states west of the Appalachians and north of the Ohio,



gave them great political significance.<sup>1</sup> Professor A. B. Faust says that in 1860:

The Germans clearly held the balance of power at the polls in Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota, in Illinois and Wisconsin, in Indiana, Ohio and Michigan, in Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and Connecticut.<sup>2</sup>

The unity of the German-Americans was another element in their political strength. Like other foreign language groups, the German immigrants were clannish. They lived in settlements and certain cities—Cincinnati, Milwaukee, St. Louis, and Davenport—came to be known as German cities. The German language press was large and active. According to the Cincinnati *Gazette* of 1854, it consisted of eighty-eight papers in that year. Devotedly following their able leaders, the German-Americans presented a nearly solid political front in 1860.

Until 1850 the great majority of German-Americans were Jacksonian Democrats, largely because the Democratic party had always been the party of the immigrants and the "common people." After the Mexican War, however, the increased agitation of the slavery question and the arrival of the "émigrés" from the German Revolutions of 1848 led many Germans to renounce their ties to the Democracy. The "forty eighters," who soon assumed the leadership of the German-Americans, hated slavery as another form of the oppression from which they had fled. Therefore, when in 1853 Stephen A. Douglas introduced in the United States Senate a bill to repeal the Missouri Compromise, his German followers deserted the Democratic party by the thousands.<sup>3</sup>

The problem of finding a party which stood for political principles to which they could subscribe confronted those who had left the Democracy. The great opposition party, the Whigs, was decadent, ineffectual, and in the process of disintegration. No major party appeared to take its place as an opponent of the Democratic measures which the Germans

<sup>1</sup>*Population of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census*, Joseph C. Kennedy, Superintendent of Census, Washington, 864, p. xxviii.

<sup>2</sup>Albert Bernhardt Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, New York, 1909, I:462.

<sup>3</sup>Frank I. Herriott, "The Conference of German Republicans in the Deutsches Haus, Chicago, May 14-15, 1860." Reprint from *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1928*, pp. 11-12.

had found so distasteful. Some of the German voters did ally themselves with the Whig party. Others supported the Free Soil party, newly organized by those opposed to the extension of slavery into the Territories. *Der Bund Freier Manner*, an independent anti-slavery party, was organized by German radicals in Louisville in 1853, and spread through most of the Western states.<sup>4</sup> Needless to say, the American, or "Know-Nothing," party, which was definitely anti-foreign and anti-Catholic, gained no German adherents.

When the Republican party was organized in 1854 and 1855 to prevent the extension of slavery and to succeed the party of Clay as a proponent of internal improvements, a protective tariff, and a strong central government thousands of Germans attached themselves to it. Among the German leaders who took an active part in early Republican councils were Gustav Korner and George Schneider of Illinois, Philip Dorheimer of Buffalo, and Carl Schurz of Wisconsin.

Nineteen of the delegates to the first Republican Convention in Philadelphia on June 17, 1856, were German-Americans. George Schneider composed the tenth plank in the platform adopted by this convention. This resolution, which was an assurance to German voters that the party had their interest at heart, condemned all proscriptive legislation. It was an open challenge to the nativistic element within the party.<sup>5</sup> During the campaign that followed, the "forty eighters" worked strenuously for Fremont, the Republican nominee. Although the Republicans lost the election, the labor of these German leaders bore fruit. Schurz estimated that 300,000 German votes were cast for Fremont in 1856 in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Ohio.<sup>6</sup>

Although these Germans gave the Republican cause strong support in 1856, there were elements within the party organization that antagonized the new citizens. In addition to the nativistic element, there was a puritanical group within the party which attempted to regulate Sunday observance and prohibit the use of alcoholic drinks. This ran counter to the German's interpretation of individual liberty and

<sup>4</sup>Faust, *op. cit.*, II:130-190.

<sup>5</sup>Herriott, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

<sup>6</sup>Frederick Franklin Schrader, *The Germans in the Making of America*, Boston, 1924, p. 194.

separation of church and state. Naturally the Democrats were quick to point out to the Germans the harshness of these elements.<sup>7</sup>

The activities of Know-Nothings under the cover of Republicanism made the German-Americans particularly anxious. Less than two months after the election of President Buchanan, a bill was sponsored in Congress by Republican representatives which would have required a foreigner to reside twenty-one years in this country before he should be allowed to vote. The bill was defeated by a Democratic majority.<sup>8</sup> Further evidence of the existence of nativism within the Republican party appeared in 1857 when Carl Schurz was defeated for lieutenant-governor of Wisconsin by the same Republicans who had used his name to decoy German votes for the Republican ticket.<sup>9</sup>

There was, however, no organized movement among the German Republicans to protest against nativism within the party until 1859. In that year the General Court of Massachusetts, in which the Republicans were in a large majority, passed what was known as the "Two Year" amendment to the state constitution. This provided that:<sup>10</sup>

No person of foreign birth shall be allowed to vote, nor shall he be eligible for office, unless he shall have resided within the jurisdiction of the state for two years subsequent to his naturalization and shall be otherwise qualified according to the Constitution and laws of the Commonwealth.

The amendment was submitted to the voters of the state whose affirmative vote made it a law. So evident was the activity of the Massachusetts Republicans in behalf of this proscription that Republicans in other states could not disavow the action although they did condemn it.<sup>11</sup>

Immediately a storm of protest arose from the German Republicans. Although the German press was angered, it was not united in either its conclusions or its recommendations. A movement was initiated to call a national convention of German Republicans during the summer of 1859, but it

<sup>7</sup>Faust, *op. cit.*, II:31.

<sup>8</sup>*Iowa Weekly Democrat*, Sigourney, Iowa, Oct. 26, 1860; Nov. 2, 1860.

<sup>9</sup>Faust, *op. cit.*, II:134.

<sup>10</sup>*Iowa Democratic Enquirer*, Muscatine, Iowa, Sept. 29, 1859.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, June 2, 1859.



failed.<sup>12</sup> The assurances of friendship given the adopted citizens by the western Republicans undoubtedly helped to hold their allegiance to the new party.

Had nativism seemed to the Germans to be the greatest issue facing the Republican party in 1859 they would probably have left the organization without even making an attempt to alter party policy. But by this time they were thoroughly aroused over the slavery question and were bent upon forcing the nomination for President of a man whose anti-slavery attitude was strong and sure. William Henry Seward of New York was the German Republicans' first choice for President,<sup>13</sup> Lincoln had also made himself acceptable to the German element by his clear statements on slavery and Know-Nothingism.

The desires of the German Republicans in regard to the platform of 1860 were as definite as was their choice of candidate.<sup>14</sup>

A minimum of demands of the German radicals embraced the following: 1. Repeal of the infamous Fugitive Slave law; 2. Protection of citizens of free states sojourning within the slave states; 3. Freedom of speech, press, and of assembling in the southern states as well as in the northern; and, 4. Abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, which depends solely upon Congress.

Some within the Republican councils in 1859 and 1860 felt only a moderate candidate, who was not unfavorable to slavery and Americanism, could be elected President. This group, led by Horace Greeley and his New York *Tribune*, inaugurated a movement for the candidacy of Judge Edward O. Bates, of St. Louis, many months before the national convention. Because of Judge Bates' pro-slavery and nativist views he was unacceptable to the German Republicans; and as his campaign gained momentum, it met stiff opposition from the Germans.

On March 7, 1860, the Germans of Davenport, Iowa, called together by Henry Ramming, associate editor of *Der Demokrat* of that city, held a mass meeting to discuss the proper attitude for the Germans to maintain in the coming contest

<sup>12</sup>Herriott, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

<sup>13</sup>Faust, *op. cit.*, II:134-135.

<sup>14</sup>Theodor Olshausen, in *New York Abendzeitung*, January, 1860, quoted in Herriott, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

for the Republican presidential nomination. The result of the meeting was a series of resolutions denouncing the conservative element in the party and Judge Bates in particular. The resolutions concluded with the statement that "we therefore under no circumstances will vote for the Hon. Edward Bates."<sup>15</sup>

The German Republicans of New York City, probably influenced by the Davenport meeting of March 7, adopted seven resolutions on March 13, denouncing the Massachusetts amendment and demanding a presidential candidate who was unequivocally opposed to Know-Nothingism and the perpetuation of slavery. Ten days later the same committee sent out a call to "all similar organizations" urging them to send delegates to a meeting to be held in Chicago on May 14, to influence the Republican platform and to control the German delegates to the Republican National Convention to be held in Chicago on May 16.<sup>16</sup>

The Conference of the German Republicans was held at the Deutsches Haus, in Chicago, as scheduled, William Kopp, editor of the *New Yorker Demokrat*, presiding. The resolutions adopted at this meeting were really an "Ultimatum that the German Republicans would bolt the ticket if their demands as to the platform were not complied with and their general wishes as to the character of the Candidate were not met."<sup>17</sup>

There can be no doubt that the Deutsches Haus Conference greatly influenced the actions of the Wigwam Convention. The platform adopted at the Convention complied with the demands of the German Republican Committee of New York of March 13, 1860. While Seward, the German choice, did not receive the nomination for the Presidency, Lincoln, an entirely acceptable candidate did. The German Republicans had defeated the conservative elements of the party by preventing the nomination of Judge Bates for President.

While addressing the Convention on behalf of the naturalization plank, Schurz promised the party 300,000 votes in

<sup>15</sup>*Democratic Clarion*, Bloomfield, Iowa, Mar. 21, 1860; Herriott, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-49; Louis Pelzer, "The History of Political Parties in Iowa, 1857-1860," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, VII:217.

<sup>16</sup>Herriott, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 35.

Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Wisconsin, Michigan and Ohio. Schrader estimates the German Republican vote in those states in 1860 to be nearly 450,000. A vote of 450,000 could easily have swung those states into the Democratic line. If Schrader's estimate is at all reasonable, the Germans of the Northwest tipped the scales for Lincoln; for, without the Northwestern states, Lincoln would have only secured 114 electoral votes to his nearest opponent's 138 electoral votes.<sup>18</sup>

#### THE GERMANS IN IOWA: THEIR LEADERS AND PRESS

Although it has been asserted that the Iowa Germans seemed to have little genius for pioneering or frontier life,<sup>19</sup> many of them were to be found among the early settlers of Iowa. They had been drawn from Missouri, Illinois, and the eastern states, along with the native Americans, toward new homes and brighter prospects in the new territory.<sup>20</sup> Most of their settlements were along the Mississippi River or in the country immediately west of it. Dubuque, the largest city in the state in 1860, had, at one time, a population that was over half German. The two other leading cities, Des Moines, the state capital, and Davenport also had large German populations. From the nucleus at Davenport, other German communities sprang; such as Avoca, Minden, Walcott, Wheatland, and Dewitt. Many of the Germans in these communities were from Schleswig-Holstein and Denmark. German Catholics settled the town of New-Wein, northwest of Dubuque; and Guttenberg, north of Dubuque on the Mississippi, was founded by Germans from Cincinnati.<sup>21</sup>

Several communistic and mystical religious groups of Germans migrated to Iowa before 1860. The Amana settlement in Johnson county was well established by this time. It was a group bound by religious ties. Another communistic society, the "Iearians," moved from Nauvoo, Illinois, to Corning, Adams county, Iowa, in 1856. They had bought the property from the Mormons in Nauvoo, in 1850, when the Latter Day Saints fled to the west under Brigham Young. These communists, upon the death of their leader, Etienne Cabet, settled at Corning and named the community they

<sup>18</sup>Schrader, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

<sup>19</sup>George F. Parker, *Iowa—Pioneer Foundations*, Iowa City, Iowa, 1939, p. 143.

<sup>20</sup>Faust, I:461.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, I:462.



founded the "Icaria Commune" in honor of Cabet's book *Icarie*. Most of the members of this society were French, "but the most influential of them after Cabet's death were Germans." On "Potato Prairie," in Clayton county, Heinrich Koch, after his return from the Mexican War in 1847, founded another colony of German communists.<sup>22</sup>

Much greater in number were the Amish Mennonites, a mystical religious sect, composed largely of Germans. The vanguard of this group settled in West Point township, in Lee county, in 1831. They next founded a community in Henry county, in 1843. The Johnson county settlement, from which was destined to grow the largest Amish district in the state, was made in 1846. The Mennonites in Davis county came to Iowa in 1854.<sup>23</sup>

The early Germans in Iowa were mostly of the peasant type. They were content to work their farms or conduct their little businesses. Proud of their new nationality, they attempted, without complete success, to become Americanized. To their leaders, who were sometimes incapable and short-sighted, they gave blind obedience. Their record of political leadership in Iowa is not brilliant. In the history of the state there has never been a candidate for either Governor or United States Senator with a German name.<sup>24</sup> What political strength they possessed was due, largely, to their numbers and unity.

Less than one-third of the early Iowa Germans were Catholics. A small minority were members of various mystical sects and the remainder were Protestant.<sup>25</sup>

There were 38,555 native Germans living in Iowa in 1860. This formed 5.79 per cent of the entire state population of 674,913 and 36.34 per cent of the total foreign population of the state, which was 106,081.<sup>26</sup>

The Germans in Iowa, as in other parts of the United States, had turned, during the "fifties," for leadership to the refugees of the German and Austrian revolutions. Henry

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup>Melvin Gingerich, *The Mennonites in Iowa*, Iowa City, Iowa, 1939, pp. 57, 67, 93.

<sup>24</sup>Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 144.

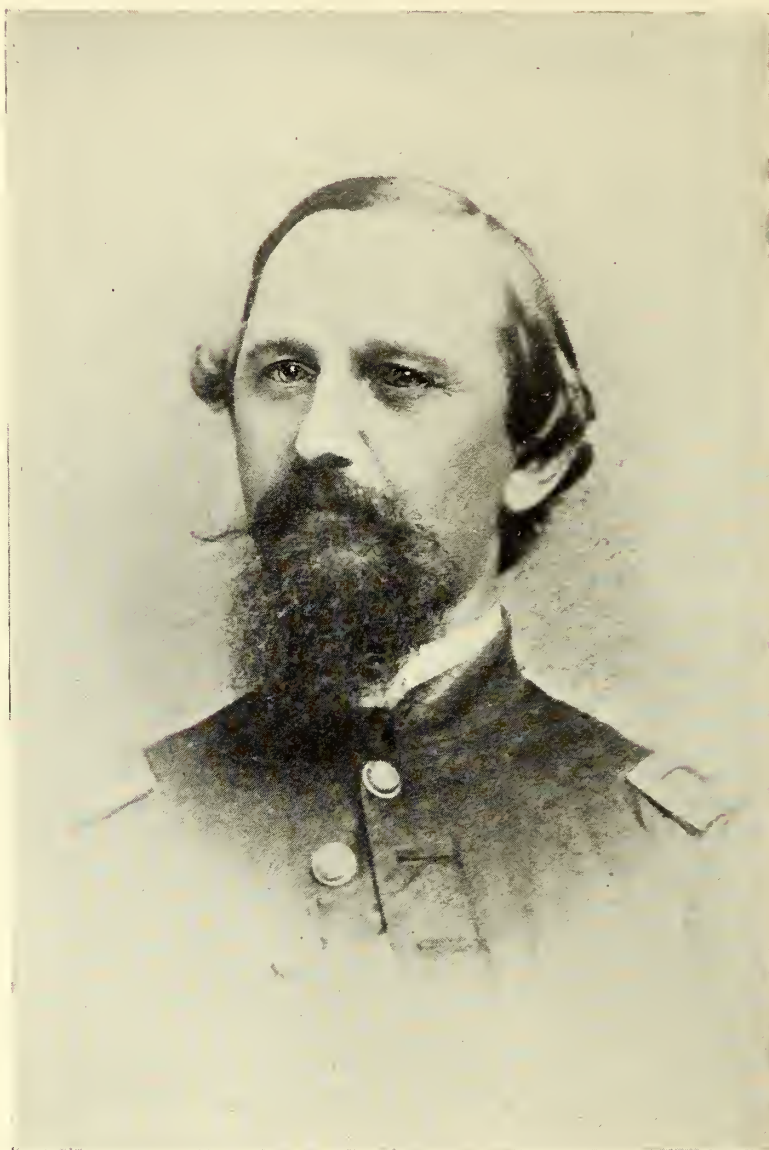
<sup>26</sup>*Population of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census*, Washington, 1864.

Ramming, of Davenport, was such a leader. A native of Hungary, he had once been an officer in the Austrian army. From 1856 to 1860 he served as associate editor of *Der Demokrat*, and was editor of that newspaper in 1860 and 1861. During the Civil War he served on General Fremont's staff and later as Colonel of the 3rd Missouri Infantry.

Carl Rotteck, a leader of the German radical thought in the state, was also a refugee of the Revolution of 1848. Educated as a lawyer in Germany, he attempted farming in America. Like many another "latin farmer" he was unsuccessful in this enterprise. After a second failure, this time as a shoe merchant, he founded the *Muscatine (Iowa) Zeitung* in 1857. Because of Rotteck's outspoken comment in this paper, readers were alienated and he was forced to stop publishing the *Zeitung*. In 1859 he moved to Burlington, Iowa. From there he went to Keokuk where in 1862 he published the *Beobachter des Westens*.

Dr. William Hoffbauer of Guttenberg and Dubuque, Iowa, was a leading Republican and a close friend of Carl Schurz. He had been educated at the University of Berlin from which he had received the M. D. degree. Dr. Hoffbauer had lost an arm, supposedly in a duel, before coming to America. As a member of the Frankfort Parliament, he was on the extreme left, and upon the collapse of the Revolution he fled to Switzerland, from where he had come to the United States in 1850.

Another prominent leader of the Iowa Germans in 1860 was Nicholas J. Rusch, who served as lieutenant-governor of Iowa in 1859 and 1860. Rusch was born in Marne, Holstein, in February, 1822. He received his education at the Gymnasium in Meddorf, a Seminar of Segeberg, and later at the University of Kiel. Because of political disturbances in Schleswig-Holstein he emigrated to Scott county, Iowa, near Davenport, where he farmed very successfully. He was elected to the State Senate of Iowa in 1857 where he served until his election as lieutenant-governor of the state. In 1860 Governor Kirkwood appointed Rusch Immigration Commissioner for Iowa. He resigned this position when Civil War broke out and gave his services to the Union cause.



NICHOLAS J. RUSH, STATE SENATOR 1855-59;  
LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR 1859-60.



When he died at Vicksburg, Mississippi, he was serving as a Colonel in the Union army.<sup>27</sup>

Hans R. Claussen and Theodor Olshausen were also leaders of great authority among the Germans of Iowa. The latter acquired a national reputation as an editor and writer. For years he edited *Der Demokrat*, a German Republican newspaper in Davenport, Iowa. "Olshausen was of a famous family and had a notable career in letters and politics" in Germany. Claussen had been an advocate in the Holstein courts, and a member of the Frankfort, Holstein, and Stuttgart Congresses. These two men had been imprisoned in Denmark, because they had protested against the treatment of the Holsteiners by the Danish king. Upon their release from prison they had migrated to America and had eventually settled in Iowa.<sup>28</sup>

In 1860 only five German newspapers were being published in Iowa. The oldest of these, the *Iowa Staats Zeitung*, had been founded in Dubuque in 1849, as the *Northwest Demokrat*. Its first editor was B. Hauf, who published the paper until 1855. In that year D. A. Mahoney became the editor, but in a short while John Bittman took over the publishing of the *Northwest Demokrat* and changed its name to the *Iowa Staats Zeitung*. At the same time Dr. George Hillgartner became the editor. The *Zeitung*, originally Democratic, became Republican in 1856.

The Burlington, Des Moines County, *Volksblatt*, was established in 1852 by Metz and Loeber. It changed editors several times, and in 1855 the name of the paper became the *Freie Presse*. In 1860 it was being edited by a Mr. Vanzelow.

*Der Demokrat*, an important Republican newspaper, was founded in Davenport as a Whig organ in 1851. Henry Lischer and Company owned *Der Demokrat* in 1860, and Theodor Olshausen was its editor.

The Democratic German-American newspaper, *Beobachter des Westens*, was located in Keokuk. It was begun in 1855 by William Kopp, but was managed by Leopold Mader in 1860.

When the *Northwest Demokrat* changed its political affiliations in 1856, a demand arose in Dubuque for a Democratic

<sup>27</sup>Herriott, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

German newspaper. In answer to this demand, Frederick A. Giuffke founded *Der National Demokrat*. This paper was published as a daily in 1857, but reverted to a weekly about a year later.<sup>29</sup>

The political sympathies of the German newspapers in Iowa in 1860, were, no doubt, reflections of the attitudes of their constituents. The fact that these papers were so evenly divided on party ties, leads one to suspect that neither political party in Iowa could claim the entire German vote in 1860.

#### THE POLITICAL SCENE IN IOWA BEFORE 1860

The decade of the 1850's was a period of political revolution in Iowa. Sentiment in the Territory of Iowa had been strongly Democratic. Only once, in the "hard cider" year of 1840, did the Whigs win control of the Territorial legislature. During the first eight years of statehood, from 1846 to 1854, the state government remained in the hands of the Democracy. In that year, however, under the dynamic leadership of James W. Grimes, their candidate for governor, the Whig party won a foothold in the government at Iowa City. Although the Democrats secured a majority of one in the state senate, the Whigs had won the governorship and a majority in the house.<sup>30</sup>

Several factors probably entered into this unexpected political turn. The source of immigration to Iowa had shifted from the southern and "border" states to the strongly Whig states of New England, New York and Pennsylvania. The pro-slavery leanings of the Democratic senators from Iowa, Augustus C. Dodge and George W. Jones, as demonstrated by their votes for the Kansas-Nebraska bill and against the Wilmot Proviso, also had an unfavorable effect upon the Iowa Democracy. No doubt the personal popularity of Grimes was an added factor in the Whig victory of 1854.

Governor Grimes, who had parted with the Whig party before he took office, was instrumental in the formation of the Republican party in Iowa. On February 22, 1856, a meeting was held at Iowa City, at which the state party

<sup>29</sup>Hildegard E. Frese, *German-American Journalism in the State of Iowa*, 1935, pp. 12-16.

<sup>30</sup>Pelzer, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

organization was established. The Republicans gained strength so rapidly that twenty-one of the thirty-six delegates elected to the constitutional convention in August 1856 were listed as Republicans.<sup>31</sup>

This first Republican administration of Iowa was one of reform. During its tenure of office the State Constitution was revised, a state bank founded, and a prohibitory liquor law, similar to the famous "Maine Law," was passed. The latter measure proved to be very unpopular with the Germans in the state and was modified in 1857 and again in 1858.<sup>32</sup>

When Governor Grimes refused the renomination which the Republicans offered him in 1857, Ralph P. Lowe of Muscatine was chosen instead and elected Governor. Grimes succeeded George W. Jones to the United States Senate on March 4, 1859.

In the election of 1858 the Republican ticket swept the state. For the first time in the history of Iowa there was an overwhelming representation of one party in the state government. The Republicans controlled both houses of the General Assembly by substantial majorities; and elected a complete slate of Republican State officers. In addition both United States Senators and the entire delegation to Congress were Republicans. The political revolution was complete.<sup>33</sup>

While the Republican party had intrenched itself in the state capitol in 1858, its chances for success in the elections of 1859 and 1860 were not assured. There was criticism of state taxes and expenditures which had been raised to carry out the Republican reforms. The Democrats were demanding a "revision of existing banking laws and of the State Constitution."<sup>34</sup> Attacks were being made on the Republican attempt to amend the Iowa School law which barred negro children from schools unless unanimous consent of the white parents of the district was given.<sup>35</sup> Democratic papers were accusing the Republicans of being a prohibition party, on

<sup>31</sup>Cyrenus Cole, *Iowa—Through the Years*, Iowa City, 1940, pp. 150-260.

<sup>32</sup>*Weekly Independence* (Iowa) *Civilian*, Aug. 18, 1859; *The Democratic Enquirer*, Muscatine, Iowa, Sept. 22, 1859; Cyrenus Cole, *A History of the People of Iowa*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1921, p. 277.

<sup>33</sup>Pelzer, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 220.

<sup>35</sup>*Weekly Independence* (Iowa) *Civilian*, Aug. 25, 1859.



the one hand, and of amending the prohibition law on the other.<sup>36</sup> Among the more serious worries of the Republicans was the restlessness of the Germans, who suspected Iowa Republicans of sympathy with the Know-Nothings.<sup>37</sup>

THE STRUGGLE FOR GERMAN VOTES IN THE CAMPAIGNS OF  
1859 AND 1860

The Iowa Republicans were put on the defensive in their dealing with the naturalized citizens by the passage of the proscriptive "two year" amendment which was submitted to the people of Massachusetts in March, 1859. As soon as this measure had passed the Republican Massachusetts legislature, the Democratic press of Iowa featured it in their editorials as an evidence of Know-Nothingism within the Republican ranks. These papers warned the Germans that the only reason that such a measure had not been introduced by the Iowa Republicans was that the party in Iowa needed the German vote; but that as soon as the Republicans could, with the aid of the German voters, split the nation in two and get control of the government, they would turn on their German friends.<sup>38</sup> Not only had the Massachusetts Republicans debased the foreigner, but by enfranchising the negro had placed the adopted citizen in an even more unworthy position. The editor of the *Iowa Weekly Democrat*, of Sigourney, sarcastically remarked:<sup>39</sup>

But Massachusetts has made . . . progress; she has extended to the African the immunities of the elective franchise, and repealed all laws that stigmatized the negro, and in her love for humanity, has adopted State laws in conflict with the Constitution of the United States, and now she is endeavoring to disenfranchise the white foreign citizens by extending the period allowed them by the federal constitution to become voters and citizens of the American Union.

The Democratic party, they said, "places the adopted citizen, wherever he may have been born, or at whatever altar he may worship on a basis of perfect and entire equality with the native."<sup>40</sup> Several of the Democratic papers

<sup>36</sup>Louis Schade in *Weekly Independence* (Iowa) *Civilian*, June 16, 1859; *Democratic Enquirer*, Muscatine, Iowa, Sept. 22, 1859.

<sup>37</sup>*Democratic Enquirer*, Muscatine, Iowa, Aug. 4, 1859.

<sup>38</sup>*Weekly Independence* (Iowa) *Civilian*, Mar. 17, 1859.

<sup>39</sup>April 22, 1859.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, Mar. 25, 1859.

printed a clipping from the *Quincy* (Massachusetts) *Herald* of the proclamation of the Germans of Massachusetts that they would never again support the Republican party.<sup>41</sup>

The Republican papers of the state were equally emphatic in condemnation of the Massachusetts amendment, but pointed out that the entire Republican party could not be censured for the actions of its partizans of one state. They said that the Republican party the country over condemned the "two years" amendment, and went so far as to hope that the Republicans of Massachusetts would lose the coming election.<sup>42</sup> No doubt this wish was sincere for it was felt that many Germans would be driven from the party by the amendment, and as one paper said; "Without the German vote, Illinois and Wisconsin would today be in the hands of the black Democracy."<sup>43</sup>

When on May 9, 1859, the people of Massachusetts ratified the "two year" amendment, the discussion of the question became even more agitated in Iowa. Many of the Democratic papers in the latter state carried several articles on the subject in one issue. The *Weekly Independence* (Iowa) *Civilian* prophesied that if the Republicans of Iowa<sup>44</sup>

were strong enough to do without foreign votes, they would soon be walking in the steps of Massachusetts. But the Democratic party has never had but one creed and one record on this question. The Democratic party has never proscribed any portion of the white race, and has claims upon the support of naturalized citizens that we believe will not be forgotten. Old friends are the best, provided they have been tried and found true,—new friends may prove treacherous.

By this time, the Republicans had organized a rebuttal, which, however, was very weak. *The Gate City*, *Keosauqua Republican*, and *Davenport Gazette*, following the lead of Horace Greeley's *Tribune*, charged that the Massachusetts amendment was passed by a secret vote of the Democrats, in an effort to discredit the Republicans.<sup>45</sup> The Democratic press, in refutation, pointed out that the *Boston Bee*, a Republican paper, boasted that the amendment was a Re-

<sup>41</sup>*Sioux City* (Iowa) *Register*, April 14, 1859; *The Democratic Enquirer*, Muscatine, Iowa, April 14, 1859; *Columbia City* (Iowa) *Enterprise*, April 30, 1859.

<sup>42</sup>*Weekly Maquoketa* (Iowa) *Excelsior*, April 12, 1859.

<sup>43</sup>*Vinton* (Iowa) *Eagle*, April 5, 1859.

<sup>44</sup>May 12, 1859.

<sup>45</sup>*Democratic Clarion*, Bloomfield, Iowa, May 25, 1859.

publican victory,<sup>46</sup> that the *Springfield* (Massachusetts) *Republican*, though opposing it, admitted it was a Republican measure,<sup>47</sup> and that the Massachusetts Germans, themselves, blamed the Republicans of that state for the law.<sup>48</sup> The *Sioux City* (Iowa) *Register* said:<sup>49</sup>

It is useless for the Republicans of two or three Western States to excuse or repudiate the purpose foreshadowed by the action of Massachusetts. Adopted citizens simply ask the enjoyment of all the political rights and equality guaranteed them by the constitution—no more or less. These they begin to see will be secured to them by the Democracy only, a party that has never wavered in its fidelity to the constitution.

In answer to the Republican defense that the nativist attitude in the party was purely local, the Democrats showed the Germans that a proscriptive amendment was pending at the time in Connecticut, sponsored by the Republican party and that the Republican State Convention in New York had recommended a similar law for that state.<sup>50</sup> The union of the American and Republican parties in Hamilton, Ohio, was also pointed to as proof that Know-Nothingism was not a local element in the Republican party.<sup>51</sup>

The best defensive argument that the Iowa Republicans could present was that the vote on the Massachusetts amendment was very small, very close, and from the city districts; indicating that it was an American rather than a Republican vote.<sup>52</sup>

The nativist Republican press of the east caused the Iowa Republicans more worry than did the Massachusetts amendment. Their editorials were freely clipped by Democratic papers in Iowa to offer proof of the American tendencies of the Republicans. Two eastern Republican papers so used by the Democratic press were the *Cleveland* (Ohio) *Herald* and the *Boston* (Massachusetts) *Bee* which denounced all foreigners and Catholics in very insulting terms.<sup>53</sup>

The Germans of Iowa were thoroughly aroused by the

<sup>46</sup>*Ibid*; *Iowa Weekly Democrat*, Sigourney, Iowa, May 27, 1859.

<sup>47</sup>*Sioux City (Iowa) Register*, June 16, 1859.

<sup>48</sup>*Iowa Weekly Democrat*, Sigourney, Iowa, June 24, 1859.

<sup>49</sup>May 26, 1859.

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*, June 30, 1859.

<sup>51</sup>*Page County Herald*, Clarinda, Iowa, July 29, 1859.

<sup>52</sup>*Columbia City (Iowa) Enterprise*, June 2, 1859; *Life in the West*, Sigourney, Iowa, May 26, 1859.

<sup>53</sup>*Iowa Weekly Democrat*, Sigourney, Iowa, April 15, 1859; May 27, 1859.



Massachusetts amendment and seemed to fear that the Republicans of the west were sympathetic to the nativist activities of the eastern party members. Nicholas Schade, a German-American of Burlington, Iowa, on May 20, 1859, wrote a public letter of nearly five columns length to the press of Iowa, urging the Germans not to vote the Republican ticket because the Republicans were the party of nativism and prohibition.<sup>54</sup> The Republicans were to hear more of Schade before the end of the campaign. An association of Germans known as the "Schulverein" met at Le Claire, Scott County, to draw up a set of resolutions denunciatory of Massachusetts Republicanism.<sup>55</sup> In April a committee of German political leaders, among whom were Hillgartner, Bittman, Freund, Olshausen, and Gulich,—submitted a questionnaire to the Congressional delegation from Iowa, in which they asked them:<sup>56</sup>

1st. Are you in favor of the Naturalization Laws as they now stand, and particularly against all and every extension of the probation time?

2nd. Do you regard it as a duty of the Republican party, as the party of equal rights, to oppose and war upon each and every discrimination that may be attempted to be made between the Native born and Adopted citizens as to the right of suffrage?

3rd. Do you condemn the late action of the Republicans in the Massachusetts legislature, for attempting to exclude the Adopted citizens for two years from the ballot box, as unwise, unjust, and uncalled for?

Senator James W. Grimes, in an open letter from Burlington, Iowa, on April 30, replied to this inquiry:<sup>57</sup>

To each of these interrogations I respond unhesitatingly in the affirmative.

In regard to the recent action of the Massachusetts Legislature in relation to the right of suffrage, I have this to say: That while I admit that the regulation sought to be adopted is purely of a local character, with which we of Iowa have nothing *directly* to do, and while I would be one of the last men in the world to interfere in the local affairs of a sovereign State, or with the action of any party in that State upon local matters, yet I claim the right to condemn, as my judgement may dictate, such a State

<sup>54</sup>*Weekly Independence* (Iowa) *Civilian*, June 16, 1859.

<sup>55</sup>*Iowa Weekly Democrat*, Sigourney, Iowa, May 13, 1859.

<sup>56</sup>*Weekly Maquoketa* (Iowa) *Excelsior*, May 17, 1859.

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.*

or party action, when, in my conviction, it is based upon a false and dangerous principle.

I believe the action of the Massachusetts Legislature alluded to, to be based upon such a principle, and to be fraught with evil and only evil, continually, to the whole country and not to Massachusetts alone. Hence I condemn and deplore it without equivocation or reserve.

Knowing how much the adoption of the proposed constitutional provision will offend their brethern elsewhere, the Republicans of Massachusetts owe it to their party, that this amendment should be overwhelmingly voted down.

In reply to the same letter Senator James Harlan answered:<sup>58</sup>

I am compelled as a Republican, to say in reply to your first interrogatory, that I am not an advocate for any material change in the naturalization laws; to the second I do not approve any discrimination whatever against the rights of naturalized citizens; to the third, that I would not, if I were a citizen of Massachusetts, advocate the adoption of the proposed amendment to her Constitution.

Representatives Curtis and Vandever answered the inquiry in terms equally clear.<sup>59</sup> Because of his letter Grimes was accused of hypocrisy by the Democrats, who charged that he had been a Know-Nothing in 1854-1855 and had supported the belief that all foreigners should wait twenty-one years after naturalization before voting.<sup>60</sup>

It was necessary in the face of these charges of nativism that the Republican party of Iowa, if it was to win the German vote, take a definite stand against proscriptive legislation. Such a step was taken even before the "two year" amendment went to the people of Massachusetts for their approval. In the spring of 1859 the Republican State Central Committee of Iowa issued a public denunciation of the recent action of the Massachusetts Legislature. This proclamation did not meet the approval of all of the Iowa Republicans. There were those who felt that though the action of the Massachusetts Legislature was impolitic, it could not affect the party elsewhere. "It is their affair, and not ours," they said. "Our policy is to let the Republicans of each state take

<sup>58</sup>*Ibid*; *Democratic Clarion*, Bloomfield, Iowa, May 25, 1859.

<sup>59</sup>*Columbia City (Iowa) Enterprise*, May 26, 1859.

<sup>60</sup>*Democratic Clarion*, Bloomfield, Iowa, May 18, 1859.

care of themselves." <sup>61</sup> The Democrats, of course, cried again, "Hypoerisy!" <sup>62</sup>

Many of the county conventions of both parties, who were choosing delegates to the coming state conventions, passed strong resolutions denouncing the "two year" amendment of Massachusetts. <sup>63</sup> Prejudice, though, appeared in the ranks of both parties in spite of their professions of friendliness to the naturalized citizens. In the Johnson County Convention, Edward Zitschke, a German-American, asked to represent the German element of the county at the State Convention, and his name was placed on the ballot list by a friend. Without reason his name was erased. <sup>64</sup> In the Davenport city election the editor of the *Davenport News*, who was a candidate for office, offered a ballot to a German citizen. When the German refused it, the candidate called him "a d—d Dutelman." In the next issue of his paper, June 11, 1859, the editor admitted that he used the phrase and reserved the right to use it against any German who gave him provocation. <sup>65</sup>

Many Republicans, however, thought that mere denunciations were not enough to hold the vote of the Germans of the party. They felt that more tangible proof of friendship was needed. This group recommended that the Republican State Convention nominate a German for lieutenant-governor. <sup>66</sup> Such a move had a precedent, for in two neighboring states the Republican party had chosen German leaders as standard bearers. Illinois, where the German vote was important, had honored Gustav Korner with the lieutenant-governorship in 1852 and again in 1854. <sup>67</sup> The Republicans in Wisconsin, to hold the German vote, had nominated Carl Schurz for lieutenant-governor in 1857, but he had been defeated. <sup>68</sup>

<sup>61</sup>*Life in the West*, Sigourney, Iowa, May 5, 1859.

<sup>62</sup>*Democratic Clarion*, Bloomfield, Iowa, May 11, 1859.

<sup>63</sup>*Columbia City* (Iowa), *Enterprise* June 16, 1859; *Weekly Independence* (Iowa) *Civilian*, June 2, 1859; June 9, 1859; *Weekly Maquoketa* (Iowa) *Excelsior*, June 28, 1859.

<sup>64</sup>*Iowa City* (Iowa) *Reporter*, quoted in *Iowa Weekly Democrat*, Sigourney, Iowa, June 24, 1859.

<sup>65</sup>*Oskaloosa* (Iowa) *Herald*, quoted in *Montezuma* (Iowa) *Weekly Republican*, June 16, 1859.

<sup>66</sup>*Weekly Independence* (Iowa) *Civilian*, May 12, 1859.

<sup>67</sup>Faust, I:132.

<sup>68</sup>*Ibid.*



This suggestion was fruitful, and at the State Republican Convention at Des Moines on June 22, 1859, the name of Nicholas J. Rusch, a German, was placed as lieutenant-governor on the ticket headed by Samuel J. Kirkwood.<sup>69</sup> Rusch, who had been educated in Germany, came to Scott county, Iowa, in 1847. He had been elected to the state senate in 1857 and was prominent in that body as a liberal.<sup>70</sup> At the Republican State Convention at Iowa City on June 17, 1858, he was chosen for the State Republican Central Committee,<sup>71</sup> and at the moment he was in the political lime-light because of a powerful letter he had written to the *New York Tribune* on April 11, 1859, severely criticizing the action of the Massachusetts Republicans for sponsoring the "two year" amendment.<sup>72</sup>

In appearance Mr. Rusch was a typical German. He smoked a long-stemmed pipe, the bowl of which was porcelain and had pictures painted on it.<sup>73</sup> His English was so poor that he felt it to be a handicap. When Rusch learned that he had been mentioned as a possible candidate for lieutenant-governor, he wrote to Kirkwood that he felt his "broken English and little experience are not proper qualifications for an office of that nature."<sup>74</sup>

No doubt Senator Rusch's estimate of himself was too modest. As might be expected, the Republican papers spoke very favorably of his ability.<sup>75</sup> But a leading Democratic organ paid him a high compliment, the sincerity of which cannot be doubted. Before the Republican nominating Convention was held, the *Davenport* (Iowa) *News* prophesied that if "Iowa remains a Republican State, and Rusch's countrymen continue to exercise so important an influence over the destinies of the Republican party here, he will have, with his fine natural abilities, a glorious future before him.

<sup>69</sup>*Life in the West*, Sigourney, Iowa, June 30, 1859.

<sup>70</sup>Herriott, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.

<sup>71</sup>Pelzer, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

<sup>72</sup>Herriott, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.

<sup>73</sup>Marx D. Hauberg, *The Memoirs of Marx D. Hauberg*, Rock Island, Illinois, 1923, p. 41.

<sup>74</sup>Dan Elbert Clark, *Samuel Jordan Kirkwood*, Iowa City, Iowa, 1917, p. 124.

<sup>75</sup>*Sioux City* (Iowa) *Register*, July 14, 1859; *Cedar Valley* (Iowa) *Times*, quoted in *Columbia City* (Iowa) *Enterprise*, July 16, 1859; *Weekly Maquoketa* (Iowa) *Excelsior*, Sept. 28, 1859.

He will undoubtedly go eventually to the arena of the United States Senate to display them."<sup>76</sup>

Among the planks of the Republican platform adopted at the Des Moines Convention in June, 1859, was one claiming "for citizens, native and naturalized, liberty of conscience, equality of rights, and the free exercise of the right of Suffrage." This plank cordially approved "of the action taken by the Republican State Committee in regard to the amendment proposed by the Massachusetts Legislature to its Constitution."<sup>77</sup>

The platform contained two other planks of special interest to the Germans of the state. One was a resolution denouncing the Democratic party for defeating, in the United States Senate, "the Homestead Bill, which was designed to secure free homes for free people, whether native or foreign birth." The other of these two planks resolved:<sup>78</sup>

That the rights of citizens are equal, and they are equally entitled to protection at home and abroad, without regard to nativity or duration of domicile, [sic] and that the late refusal by the federal government as expressed in the late official communication of Lewis Cass, Secretary of State, to guarantee against arrest and detention abroad of naturalized citizens on the ground of their allegiance to a foreign power, is a cowardly abandonment of the true and noble position hitherto occupied by our government.

The latter resolution referred to the difficulty being encountered by the State Department in attempting to protect naturalized American citizens who visited their homelands from being forced into military service abroad against their wills. France, Austria, Prussia, and some other foreign countries denied the right of expatriation. This problem, always a trying one to the United States, had increased in difficulty with the breaking out of the Austro-Sardinian War in the winter of 1859. In May of that year Mr. Felix Le Clerc, of Memphis, Tennessee, a naturalized American who was a refugee from France for refusing military service, asked the United States government to protect him if he should return to France. In a letter of May 17, 1859, Secretary Cass informed Le Clerc that his naturalization in this country would

<sup>76</sup>*Davenport (Iowa) News*, quoted in *Life in the West*, Sigourney, Iowa, July 28, 1859.

<sup>77</sup>*Democratic Clarion*, Bloomfield, Iowa, July 6, 1859.

<sup>78</sup>*Ibid*; *Iowa Weekly Democrat*, Sigourney, Iowa, July 1, 1859.

not exempt him from the military service that the French government claimed from him.<sup>79</sup>

Another naturalized citizen, Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Ernst of Cincinnati, an officer of the Ohio militia, wished to observe the European War zone. Although he had been an American citizen for thirty years, Secretary Cass would not guarantee his protection from impressment.<sup>80</sup> The government gave a similar warning to a German, Mr. A. V. Hofer, in June, 1859.<sup>81</sup>

The seeming weakness of the Buchanan administration in protecting naturalized Americans abroad greatly alarmed the Germans and gave the Republican party a backfire against the Democratic attack on nativism. "If a 'naturalized' citizen cannot claim the protection of his government in a foreign country", they said, "then it is clear that no citizen can, unless there is a distinction between the native and foreign born; and if there is a distinction, it will not be forgotten that a Democratic administration was the first to find it out and make it operative."<sup>82</sup> Compared to this ruling of the State Department, the restrictive action of Massachusetts was as nothing, the Republicans claimed. "If one ten times more stringent were enacted in every State in the Union, it could not affect the foreign born citizen so disastrously" as the Cass ruling.<sup>83</sup>

The Iowa Democrats contended that this policy of the government in regard to naturalized citizens abroad had been adhered to for years and quoted past incidents similar to those of Le Clere's to prove their contention.<sup>84</sup>

These two issues, the Massachusetts restrictive amendment and Cass' "Le Clere ruling," were the major points of argument in the struggle for the Iowa German vote in 1859. They were hotly debated in the newspapers of the state from March until well after the October election.

On June 23, the day after the Republican State Convention in Des Moines, the Democrats convened in the same city to choose a state ticket and construct a platform.

<sup>79</sup>Herriott, *op. cit.*, p. 13; *The Vinton (Iowa) Eagle*, July 5, 1859.

<sup>80</sup>*The Page County Herald*, Clarinda, Iowa, July 8, 1859.

<sup>81</sup>Herriott, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>82</sup>*Life in the West*, Sigourney, Iowa, June 23, 1859.

<sup>83</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>84</sup>*Democratic Clarion*, Bloomfield, Iowa, July 6, 27, 1859.



Augustus C. Dodge, United States Minister to Spain, was nominated for Governor and Lysander W. Babbitt for lieutenant-governor. The lengthy platform adopted included a plank assuring naturalized citizens that the doctrine of the Democratic party was equal rights and protection for adopted and native born citizens at home and abroad. It also favored a homestead law.

The Democratic platform attempted to revive the question of the Iowa prohibition law, which it said was "inconsistent with the genius of free people, and unjust and burdensome in its operation." It declared that it had "vexed and harassed the citizen, burdened the counties with expense and litigation, and proven wholly useless in the suppression of intemperence."<sup>85</sup> Although the Democratic papers occasionally referred to the "Maine Law" during the campaign, the question of prohibition did not become a major issue. The Republicans had modified the law twice, largely at the instance of the Germans, and it is doubtful whether the temperance question greatly influenced the German vote in Iowa in 1859.

From the moment Rusch was nominated he was under fire from Democratic speakers and newspapers. They charged that he had been nominated only as a matter of policy and that even the Republicans hoped that he would be defeated, as Schurz had been in Wisconsin.<sup>86</sup> Unless he had been nominated, the Democrats said, the German Republicans, disgruntled over the nominations of "Know-Nothings Vandever, Harlan, Grimes, Thorington, and others" would have left the party.<sup>87</sup> It was prophesied that because of Rusch's nomination there would be disaffection in the Republican party, for "the lager and Dark Lantern elements rest in uneasy companionship."<sup>88</sup>

Many of the Democrats, who had been pleading their friendliness for the adopted citizens before the nominating Convention, now turned on the Germans a scorn as biting as that for which they had previously condemned the Republicans of Massachusetts. They declared that the Germans were "busy

<sup>85</sup>*Democratic Clarion*, Bloomfield, Iowa, July 6, 1859.

<sup>86</sup>*Sioux City (Iowa) Register*, July 14, 1859.

<sup>87</sup>*Democratic Enquirer*, Muscatine, Iowa, Aug. 4, 1859.

<sup>88</sup>*Sioux City (Iowa) Register*, July 28, 1859.

bodies, and mischief makers in every community where they reside. They were driven out of Germany in '48 for their clannishness and meddlesomeness. They ignore the Bible, and all revealed religion, believe in no future state of rewards and punishment, and act on an infidel motto, live while we live.' They aim at anarchy in politics, morals and religion, and are a curse to any country or community."<sup>80</sup>

Mr. Rusch was attacked because of his activities in attempting to change the school law to make it easier for negro children to attend public schools in Iowa,<sup>81</sup> and for his opposition to the state prohibition law.<sup>82</sup> His opponents denounced him as a "Red, alias Black, alias Free Thinking, alias anti-Sunday, alias anti-Bible, alias anti-Maine Law, alias pro-Lager Beer Republican."<sup>83</sup>

It was charged that he was not intelligent and spoke English so poorly that it would be impossible for him to preside over the Senate. The prediction was made that if elected he would either resign the office or get sick, requiring his absence from the Senate, so that he could not preside.<sup>84</sup> A prominent Democrat was heard to say at the State Convention that the Germans would do very well for " 'Voting Stock', but he hoped the state would never be disgraced by having a German to preside in the Senate."<sup>85</sup>

The only criticism voiced against Rusch in the Republican party was from Prohibitionists who opposed the candidate's efforts to amend the "dry" law. The Reverend Jocelyn, a Methodist minister, said that he would never vote for Nicholas J. Rusch, "who had been instrumental in modifying the prohibitory law of 1855." Senator Harlan, a prominent Methodist, was soon to be a candidate for reelection; so Rusch men declared that if the Methodists voted against Rusch, that Harlan would never be reelected.<sup>86</sup>

The fact that Kirkwood and Rusch were both farmers caused the *Democratic Clarion*, published in Bloomfield, to deride the Republican candidates as the "Plough-handle

<sup>80</sup>*Maquoketa (Iowa) Weekly Sentinel*, Aug. 4, 1859, quoted in *Weekly Maquoketa (Iowa) Excelsior*, Sept. 20, 1859.

<sup>81</sup>*Sioux City (Iowa) Register*, Aug. 25, 1859.

<sup>82</sup>*Democratic Clarion*, Bloomfield, Iowa, July 27, 1859.

<sup>83</sup>*Ibid.*, June 29, 1859; Aug. 10, 1859.

<sup>84</sup>*Democratic Enquirer*, Muscatine, Iowa, Aug. 4, 1859.

<sup>85</sup>*Weekly Maquoketa (Iowa) Excelsior*, Sept. 28, 1859.

<sup>86</sup>Cyrenus Cole, *A History of the People of Iowa*, p. 324.

ticket." This proved to be a costly error, for the Republicans took up the "catchy" phrase and, comparing Kirkwood to Cincinnatus, went into the campaign marked as the friends of the farmer.<sup>96</sup>

Mr. Kirkwood and General Dodge "took the stump" shortly after the nominating conventions had selected them. The extension of slavery was the most important issue of the campaign, but the whole reform program of the Republicans was under fire.

Neither Rusch nor Babbitt were able to do any active campaigning until late in the summer. Mr. Rusch, being a farmer, could not leave during the harvest season, and was further detained by what a friendly newspaper announced as the arrival of "another little Rusch light to illuminate his domestic pathway."<sup>97</sup>

He was booked, generally, to deliver German addresses in German communities, but he also spoke English at times. On these occasions the Democrats mercilessly ridiculed his brogue.<sup>98</sup> To counteract Senator Rusch's influence with the Germans, the Democrats employed Colonel Louis Schade, of Burlington, Iowa, to debate with him in the German language. There seemed to be no organized "stump" campaign. Schade followed Rusch from town to town and disturbed his addresses by argument and, if possible, by leading part of the crowd to another meeting place.<sup>99</sup> Senator Rusch also met Van Antwerp and Claggett in debate during this campaign.<sup>100</sup> All in all, the German candidate seems to have carried out a successful speaking tour and to have gained many friends for himself and the party.<sup>101</sup>

It was freely predicted by the Democrats that even though Samuel Kirkwood should be elected Governor, Nicholas J. Rusch would be badly defeated. Some prophets guessed that Rusch would fall 5,000 votes behind Kirkwood.<sup>102</sup> The defeat

<sup>96</sup>*Columbia City (Iowa) Enterprise*, July 21, 1859.

<sup>97</sup>*Davenport (Iowa) Gazette*, quoted in *Life in the West*, Sigourney, Iowa, Sept. 1, 1859.

<sup>98</sup>*Democratic Clarion*, July 27, Aug. 31, 1859; *Weekly Maquoketa (Iowa) Excelsior*, Sept. 20, 1859.

<sup>99</sup>*Sioux City (Iowa) Register*, Sept. 29, 1859.

<sup>100</sup>*Weekly Maquoketa (Iowa) Excelsior*, Sept. 28, 1859.

<sup>101</sup>*Montezuma (Iowa) Weekly Republican*, Sept. 15, 1859.

<sup>102</sup>*Weekly Independence (Iowa) Civilian*, Sept. 22, 1859; *Iowa Weekly Democrat*, Sigourney, Iowa, Oct. 21, 1859; *Democratic Clarion*, Bloomfield, Iowa, Nov. 9, 1859.



of Carl Schurz for lieutenant-governor in Wisconsin was pointed to as proof of the treatment a German Republican candidate would receive.<sup>103</sup>

Their predictions that Rusch would fall behind Kirkwood were correct; for, although the German candidate received 55,142 votes, a clear majority of 2,279 over his opponent, he fell 1,363 votes short of Kirkwood.<sup>104</sup>

Before the furor of the election of 1859 had died away, the national campaign of 1860 was shaping itself in Iowa. The German Republicans who had so recently gained political prestige in the state, through the election of one of their leaders as lieutenant-governor, were a bloc with which the party had to reckon. They were radically opposed to slavery and certainly would not approve of a compromise attitude on that question by the party organization. When John Brown was hanged on December 2, 1859, many German citizens of Davenport wore crepe, and many business houses displayed signs of mourning. A German theater flew its flag at half mast, and *Der Demokrat* shrouded its editorial on the hanging in black lines of mourning.<sup>105</sup>

In state politics the only issue of particular interest to the Germans in 1860 was the attempt of the Democratic members of the House in March to repeal the "Lager beer amendment" to the prohibition law. The Republicans supported the amendment, and it remained in force.<sup>106</sup> The attention of the Germans, therefore, was focused on the national scene.

There was strong sentiment among Iowa Republicans for the nomination of Judge Edward Bates, of St. Louis, for President. Mr. John Mahin, editor of the *Muscatine Journal*, a liberal leader, said on December 3, 1859, that Bates "would doubtless receive the united support of the Republican party." On January 17, 1860, Mr. Clark Dunham, editor of the *Hawkeye*, of Burlington, Iowa, announced that he also favored the St. Louisan. Mr. John A. Kasson, chairman of the Republican State Central Committee of Iowa, had

<sup>103</sup>*Sioux City (Iowa) Register*, Sept. 15, 1859; *Democratic Clarion*, Bloomfield, Iowa, Sept. 21, 1859.

<sup>104</sup>*Sioux City (Iowa) Register*, Jan. 21, 1860.

<sup>105</sup>Pelzer, *op. cit.*, p. 211; *The Weekly News*, Mount Vernon, Iowa, Feb. 2, 1860; *Democratic Clarion*, Bloomfield, Iowa, Mar. 14, 1860.

<sup>106</sup>Herriott, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

practiced law in the same courts with Judge Bates in St. Louis before coming to Iowa and favored him as a candidate. The fact that the *New York Tribune*, which sponsored Bates' candidacy, was the most widely read Republican paper in Iowa, kept his name alive in the state as a prospective nominee.<sup>107</sup>

The German Republicans the nation over were opposed to Judge Bates as a nominee for President because of his conservative stand on slavery and the taint of nativism which they felt he possessed. The first organized move that was made by the Germans against the Bates candidacy was the meeting of Germans held in Davenport, Iowa, on March 7, 1860. As previously mentioned, this meeting started a movement which culminated in the conference of German-Americans in the Deutsches Haus in Chicago on May 15 and 16 where the Bates campaign was effectually stopped.<sup>108</sup> The Davenport meeting presented resolutions to the congressional delegation from Iowa declaring that under no circumstances would the Germans vote for Edward Bates. Hans R. Claussen accompanied these resolutions to Senator James Harlan by a letter written March 31, 1860, informing him that "those who think Bates still available must not count upon the German vote."<sup>109</sup>

Mr. Add. H. Sanders, the editor of the *Daily Gazette* of Davenport, criticized the Germans in his March 10 issue for the stand they had taken. He felt that if the Germans did not want Bates for a candidate, they should work to see that he wasn't nominated; but if the National Republican Convention should, in its wisdom, decide that he was the correct nominee, every Republican should support him. Theodor Olshausen, of *Der Demokrat*, replied to him that "no matter what course the majority of the republican party may pursue, we for our part shall always and immutably remain true to the principles of liberty and humanity which we heretofore have considered identical with those of the republican party."<sup>110</sup>

<sup>107</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>108</sup>See pp. ....

<sup>109</sup>Ms. Letter in Autobiographical Manuscript of James Harlan, quoted in Herriott, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

<sup>110</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 45.

The Republican State Convention held at Des Moines, January 18, 1860, to choose a delegation to the Republican National Convention of May 16 at Chicago was uninstructed.<sup>111</sup> Iowa had eight votes at the National Convention. On the first ballot Iowa voted: Lincoln, two; Seward, two; Cameron, one; Bates, one; Chase, one; McLean, one. On the final ballot the vote was: Lincoln, five and one-half; Seward, two; Chase, one-half.<sup>112</sup> Something had happened to the Bates "boom" in Iowa between March and May. No doubt the German attitude had much to do with it.

While the German Democrats in Iowa did not play a leading role in forming the policy of their party, as did their Republican fellows, some of them were active in support of the Democracy. At a Douglas ratification meeting held in Independence, Iowa, on June 25, 1860, three of the addresses were delivered in German by Messrs. Cummings, Bitnes, and Hegee,<sup>113</sup> and several Germans were mentioned as converts to the Democratic party.<sup>114</sup>

In the campaign of 1860 there was less effort made by both parties in Iowa to win the German vote by arguments directed to them than there was in 1859. The bitter attitude that Douglas was taking toward the Germans was pointed out by the Republicans,<sup>115</sup> but there were no other issues specifically presented for them. It is only through the analysis of their vote that any conclusion can be reached as to their sympathies in the election campaign of 1860.

#### HOW THE IOWA GERMANS VOTED IN 1860

There are four possible methods of estimating the political leanings of the Germans in 1860. One obvious way is to compare the strength and activity of the Germans in the political organizations of the time. Another method of estimating their vote is by ascertaining the opinions of contemporary politicians. A third way is to analyze the political leanings of the German press. A more accurate method than any of these is to compare the election returns of a considerable

<sup>111</sup>Pelzer, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

<sup>112</sup>Cole, *Iowa—Through the Years*, p. 272.

<sup>113</sup>*Weekly Independence (Iowa) Civilian*, June 28, 1860.

<sup>114</sup>*Democratic Enquirer*, Muscatine, Iowa, Aug. 2, 1860.

<sup>115</sup>*Montezuma (Iowa) Weekly Republican*, July 4, 1860.



number of voting precincts with a heavy German population with the same number of townships of largely native composition.

As related above, the German-Americans took an active and influential part in the councils of the Iowa Republican party in 1860. Their vote was considered so valuable that one of their leaders was honored with election as lieutenant-governor of the state in 1859. Acting as a pressure group they killed the campaign of Edward O. Bates for the Republican nomination for President. On the other hand, there seems to have been little German activity in the Democratic party compared to that in the Republican organization. This would lead to the belief that the Germans in Iowa were preponderantly Republican in 1860.

The opinions of contemporary politicians would lead to the same conclusion. When Carl Schurz estimated that 300,000 Germans in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Wisconsin, Michigan and Ohio voted for Fremont in 1856, he spoke as a trained political leader and observer of his countrymen. His prophecy that the same number of Germans from those states would vote for Lincoln in 1860 was also based upon an intimate knowledge of his followers.<sup>116</sup> The opinion that the German vote was essential to the Republican party in Iowa was held by the leaders of both parties in the state. It was generally predicted by the newspapers that without the Germans the Republican party would be in the minority on 1860.<sup>117</sup> The *Weekly Independence* (Iowa) *Civilian* said,<sup>118</sup> "Well they (the Iowa Republicans) know that without their (the German) votes, Republicanism would be in the minority."

The *Sioux City* (Iowa) *Register* predicted that,<sup>119</sup> "If they (the Republicans) refuse to accede to the demand of their German allies (in the Massachusetts amendment repeal) they will be defeated in every state west and north of the Ohio."

<sup>116</sup>Schrader, *The Germans in the Making of America*, Boston, 1924, pp. 192-194.

<sup>117</sup>*Columbia City* (Iowa) *Enterprise*, July 16, 1859; *Democratic Clarion*, Bloomfield, Iowa, May 11, 1859, June 29, 1859, Mar. 14, 1860; *Democratic Enquirer*, Muscatine, Iowa, Sept. 22, 1859; *Life in the West*, Sigourney, Iowa, July 28, 1859; *Montezuma* (Iowa) *Weekly Republican*, April 28, 1859, Sept. 1, 1859; *Sioux City* (Iowa) *Register*, April 28, 1859, July 14, 1859, Aug. 11, 1859; *Vinton* (Iowa) *Eagle*, April 5, 1859; *Weekly Independence* (Iowa) *Civilian*, Mar. 17, 1859; *Weekly Maquoketa* (Iowa) *Excelsior*, Sept. 20, 1859.

<sup>118</sup>May 12, 1859.

<sup>119</sup>June 16, 1859.

The Iowa Republicans considered the German voters "the chief cornerstone of their political fabric" according to the *Iowa Weekly Democrat* of Sigourney.<sup>120</sup> These opinions may signify that the majority of the Iowa Germans were Republicans in that year, but it is untrue that they could have given Douglas a majority over Lincoln by shifting to the Democratic party *en masse*. Lincoln received 70,118 votes in Iowa in 1860, or 54.54% of the entire state ballots. Douglas secured 55,639 votes, or 43.28% of the total.<sup>121</sup> This gave Lincoln a majority of 11.26% of the entire vote over his strongest opponent.

German born inhabitants formed only 5.71% of the population of Iowa in 1860. Many of these Germans could not vote in that year because the Iowa election law made naturalization a prerequisite to suffrage. It can be taken for granted, then, that in relation to their whole population a much smaller proportion of Germans voted in 1860 than did native citizens.

If the German inhabitants of the State had voted in the same proportion that the native born citizens did, and if they had all voted for Lincoln, they would have been responsible for only 5.71% of his 11.26% lead over Douglas. If these Germans had voted for Douglas instead of the Republican candidate, Douglas would have had a majority of only .16% of the entire state vote over Lincoln. However, the campaign activities showed that there was some German support of Douglas, and that part of his vote in Iowa came from the German element. The additional fact that a considerable proportion of the Germans were prevented from voting by the election laws would doubtless have entirely eliminated the Douglas majority in case of a "bolt" of the German Republicans. The conclusion is that while the German vote was important in Iowa in 1860, it was not essential to a Republican victory.

Of the five German newspapers in Iowa, three were Republican organs and two had Democratic leanings. This would indicate that a majority of the Germans of the state

<sup>120</sup>June 10, 1859.

<sup>121</sup>*Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, VII: 229.

were Republican, but that a strong Democratic opposition existed among their countrymen.

The election returns of a large number of the townships in Iowa in 1860 are not in existence. It is impossible, therefore, to compare the vote of townships settled by Germans with that of precincts with a large majority of native born citizens. Tabulation of the population and election returns of twenty-three selected Iowa townships will be found at the end of this chapter. Returns are available for only four townships with very heavy German populations. In one of these, Jefferson township, in Clayton county, 86.87% of the heads of families were born in Germany. This precinct gave Lincoln 55.24% of the total vote, while Douglas received 44.75%. Another strongly German precinct which delivered a Republican majority was the city of Davenport where the heads of 43.55% of the families were German natives. The percentage of vote in this city was: Lincoln, 64.52%; Douglas, 31.41%; Breckenridge, 1.77%; and Bell, 2.28%. 41.87% of the heads of families in Buffalo township, near Davenport, in Scott county, were of German nativity. This precinct gave Lincoln 52.54% of its vote; Douglas, 46.89%; and Bell, .56%. Although all of these election precincts gave the Republican candidate a comfortable majority, the township of Franklin in Lee county, where 66.89% of the heads of families were born in Germany, voted strongly Democratic. In this precinct Lincoln received only 43.56% of the vote, while Douglas secured 55.77% of the ballots. The other .66% of the vote went to Bell.

It would be impossible to estimate the German vote from a study of these few precincts. Such an examination merely tends to confirm the conclusion that, while a majority of the Germans in Iowa in 1860 were Republicans, neither party could claim the entire German vote, and that, while the vote of the Germans in Iowa was important in 1860, it could not, of itself, decide the issue between Lincoln and Douglas in that state.



TABLE I  
Nativity of Heads of Families in  
Selected Iowa Townships in 1860<sup>122</sup>

County—Township	Native Born		German		Others	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Allamakee						
Center.....	21	19.09	19	17.27	70	63.63
Hanover.....	15	20.54	20	27.39	38	52.05
Boone						
Yell.....	56	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Clayton						
Jefferson.....	17	6.02	245	86.87	20	7.09
Crawford						
Denison.....	19	79.16	1	4.16	4	16.66
Union.....	13	68.42	0	0.00	6	31.57
Davis						
Marion.....	121	90.20	4	2.98	9	6.71
Decatur						
Center.....	157	98.12	0	0.00	3	1.88
Johnson						
Monroe.....	77	81.05	1	1.05	17	17.78
Lee						
Franklin.....	74	25.00	198	66.89	24	8.10
Linn						
Bertram.....	107	83.59	3	2.34	18	14.06
Putnam.....	65	67.81	10	10.41	21	20.83
Mahaska						
Union.....	99	90.00	6	4.45	5	4.54
Poweshiek						
Bear Creek.....	39	88.63	2	4.54	3	6.82
Deep River.....	63	92.64	1	1.47	4	5.88
Scott						
Davenport City.....	651	28.64	990	43.55	632	27.80
Buffalo.....	92	45.32	85	41.87	26	12.80
Washington						
English River.....	192	76.49	50	19.92	9	2.58
Iowa.....	91	65.46	36	25.89	12	8.63
Jackson.....	113	91.86	3	2.43	7	5.69
Webster						
Wahkonsah.....	103	58.52	23	13.06	50	28.40
Woodbury						
Sioux City Twp.....	98	61.63	21	13.20	40	25.15
Sargeant's Bluffs.....	21	91.30	0	0.00	2	8.69

<sup>122</sup>Manuscript reports for Iowa and the Eighth Census, 1860, Department of History and Archives, Des Moines, Iowa.

TABLE II  
Election Returns of  
Selected Iowa Townships in 1860 <sup>123</sup>

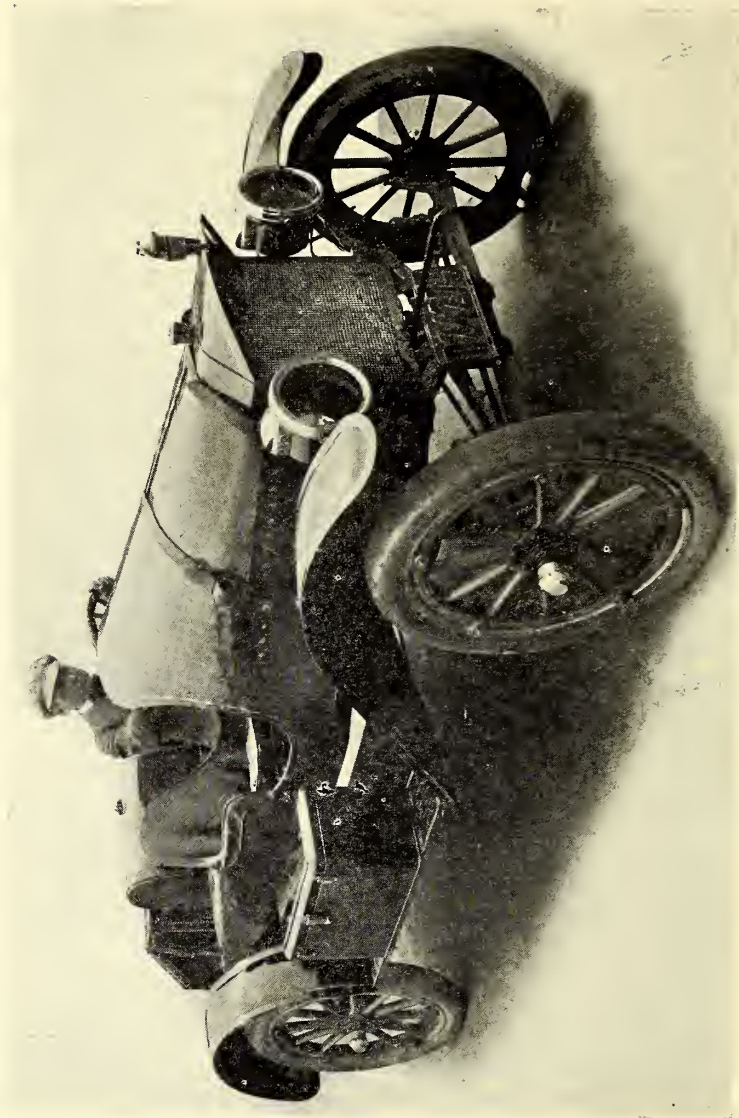
County—Township	Lincoln		Douglas		Breckenridge		Bell	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Allamakee								
Center.....	82	82.00	18	18.00	.....	.....	.....	.....
Hanover.....	41	62.12	25	37.87	.....	.....	.....	.....
Boone								
Yell.....	27	40.90	39	59.09	.....	.....	.....	.....
Clayton								
Jefferson <sup>123</sup> .....	237	55.24	192	44.75	.....	.....	.....	.....
Crawford								
Denison.....	17	51.51	16	48.48	.....	.....	.....	.....
Union.....	17	73.91	6	26.08	.....	.....	.....	.....
Davis								
Marion.....	38	25.50	77	51.00	15	10.06	19	12.75
Decatur								
Center.....	124	48.81	130	51.18	.....	.....	.....	.....
Johnson								
Monroe.....	64	69.75	28	30.43	.....	.....	.....	.....
Lee								
Franklin.....	132	43.56	169	55.77	.....	.....	2	.66
Linn								
Bertram.....	48	40.33	71	59.66	.....	.....	.....	.....
Putnam.....	53	63.09	31	36.90	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mahaska								
Union.....	61	49.59	62	50.40	.....	.....	.....	.....
Poweshiek								
Bear Creek....	131	49.80	128	48.66	2	.75	2	.75
Deep River....	60	65.93	31	34.07	.....	.....	.....	.....
Scott								
Davenport City	1493	64.52	727	31.41	41	1.77	53	2.28
Buffalo.....	93	52.54	83	46.89	.....	.....	1	.56
Washington								
English River..	108	42.04	125	48.63	14	5.44	10	2.89
Iowa.....	63	39.13	97	60.24	.....	.....	1	.62
Jackson.....	87	70.73	32	26.01	.....	.....	4	3.25
Webster								
Wahkonsah <sup>124</sup> ..	83	41.91	72	36.36	43	21.72	.....	.....
Woodbury								
Sioux City								
Township <sup>125</sup> ..	68	38.62	97	55.11	7	3.97	4	2.27
Sargt's Bluff <sup>126</sup> ..	19	76.00	6	24.00	.....	.....	.....	.....

<sup>123</sup>All figures secured from the County Election Boards' abstracts of returns of the national and state elections held in Iowa on November 6, 1860, Department of History and Archives, Des Moines, Iowa, unless otherwise noted.

<sup>124</sup>*Mississippi Valley Register*, Guttenberg, Iowa, Nov. 8, 1860.

<sup>125</sup>*Fort Dodge (Iowa) Republican*, Nov. 14, 1860.

<sup>126</sup>*Sioux City (Iowa) Register*, Nov. 10, 1860.



JOHN A. THOMPSON AND EARLY RACING CAR







# LINCOLN LORE

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## WAS LINCOLN'S ELECTION TO THE PRESIDENCY, ACCIDENTAL?

The Republican National Convention which meets at Philadelphia this week for the purpose of nominating candidates for the fall election, and the Democratic assembly which convenes later on for the same purpose, are being given a tremendous amount of publicity. The several prospective nominees in the one instance, and the thus far lone aspirant in the other, have built up during the past few weeks an unusual interest in these political convocations.

The atmosphere created invites students of history to restudy the preliminaries which led up to the nomination of Abraham Lincoln for the presidency at the Chicago Wigwam eighty-eight years ago. This present election year with its sustained political interest over a period of months invites the publication of a series of monographs on various episodes which contributed to the selection of Abraham Lincoln as the Republican nominee in 1860 and his subsequent election.

The timeliness of such a series is evident from the many propositions set forth, still in the controversial stage, which attempt to account for the elevation of Lincoln to leadership in his party. Subsequent issues of Lincoln Lore will attempt to compile some of the arguments on debated questions, and allow the reader to draw his own conclusions whether Lincoln reached the Presidency by a series of accidents or through his ability to create or cultivate a political emergency and then capitalize upon it.

William O. Stoddard prepared an editorial for the *Central Illinois Gazette* of Jan. 18, 1860 in which he stated that "four questions will be asked about every candidate who is before the convention. 1st. Is he honest? 2nd. Is he capable? 3rd. What is his geographical position? 4th. What is his political record?" (p. 140).

One of the earliest proponents of the "accidental" theory was Henry J. Raymond, supporter and close friend of Seward, who wrote in a letter to the *New York Times* shortly after the convention, "The final selection of Lincoln as a candidate was a matter of accident. I mean by this, that down to the time of taking the first ballot, there had been no agreement among the opponents of Seward as to the candidate upon whom they should unite."\*

Henry C. Whitney in his *Life on the Circuit* summarizes the success of Lincoln's candidacy by calling attention to these high points: "First—The State convention which met at Decatur in the spring of 1860 enthusiastically nominated Lincoln, and also injected into the canvass the novelty and glamour of the 'rail-splitting' episode: which took like wild-fire. Second—Norman B. Judd, one of the shrewdest and most effective of politicians, being member of the National Committee for Illinois, secured Chicago as the seat of the convention. Third—Reduced railway fares and other inducements were secured to guarantee a large attendance of Illinoisans; and in other ways the machinery of enthusiasm was set in motion for Lincoln. Fourth—Whereas the Indiana delegation had been selected with the primary object of securing control of the Indian bureau; and the Pennsylvania delegation, in part, had been organized with the intent of controlling the Treasury Department, therefore it was essential to pander to those wishes, in order to secure the delegations, so far as might be, of those States. Fifth—And to have a good 'send off' it was needful that Indiana and Illinois should be solid for Lincoln on the first ballot." (p. 84-85).

\*The Life of Horace Greeley by Parton, p. 446.

Many years ago Lord Charnwood, reviewing from across the ocean the results of the choice of Lincoln by the Republicans, stated: "This was the most surprising nomination ever made in America. Other presidential candidates have been born in poverty, but none ever wore the scars of poverty so plainly; others have been intrinsically more obscure, but these have usually been chosen as bearing the hallmark of eminent prosperity or gentility."

Many of the recent publications which touch on the subject of Lincoln's Nomination and Election leave the impression that Lincoln was swept into the 1860 campaign as the Republican standard bearer by certain incidents over which he had no control. Little credit seems to be given him for having any part in directing his course in such a way that he finally arrived at the anticipated destination.

The most recent of the Lincoln books, *Lincoln and the War Governors* by William B. Hesseltine\* implies, at least, that mother "accident" was the guiding genius that landed Lincoln in Washington, Hesseltine in the fourth paragraph of the first chapter of his book refers to Lincoln as "this inexperienced prairie politician whom accident had elevated to the Presidency." (p. 4)

G. Lynn Sumner in his interesting book published in 1946 under the title *Meet Abraham Lincoln* names five events which he feels "made Lincoln President." 1st. The Cooper Institute \$200 speech. 2nd. Robert Lincoln's failure to pass the Harvard entrance examinations. 3rd. Dramatic presentation at Decatur Convention of rails split by Lincoln. 4th. Delayed delivery of ballots at Chicago Convention. 5th. Political conspiracy in a Chicago hotel room. (p. 36)

Inasmuch as all five of these incidents occurred previous to Lincoln's nomination and no one of them occurred during the subsequent campaign, they were more definitely associated with his nomination than his election.

The attitude of Professor Randall towards the summation of Lincoln's nomination is well set forth in part in his *Lincoln the President* (Vol. II, p. 168) as follows: There were numerous factors that contributed to Lincoln's nomination, and not the least of them was the strategy of his managers." He further continues that "availability or a presumption of availability was the secret of the choice at Chicago." (Vol. II, p. 170).

Carman and Luthin in their study of *Lincoln and the Patronage* tabulate the groups contributing to Lincoln's election as follows: (1) The antislavery Whigs. (2) Free Soil Democrats. (3) Disgruntled Democrats. (4) Know-Nothing groups. (5) German-born naturalized citizens. (6) Homestead and internal-improvement people. (7) Protective-tariff advocates. (8) Groups in favor of a Pacific Railroad. (9) Those favoring an overland mail. (10) Union minded conservative men. (p. 10)

A book which will be used as one of the authentic sources in the series of monographs contemplated is *Lincoln's Rise to Power* by William E. Baringer. In his concluding chapter which he calls "Afterword" he makes this statement: "Soberly analyzed, Lincoln's chances in the Convention depended on two controlling factors: (a) Could the Party be persuaded that Seward could not be elected; (b) could the Party be led to believe that Lincoln could be elected?" (p. 332).

\*Published by Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 405 pp., Price \$4.50.





## LINCOLN IN OFFICE LATE

FARLEY TELLS HOW CIVIL WAR  
MIGHT HAVE BEEN PREVENTED.

**Taking Presidency Upon Elec-  
tion, He Could Have Used Po-  
litical Methods to Avoid  
Force, Democrat Says.**

Bear Mountain, N. Y., Feb.  
11. (AP)—James A. Farley said  
today that "Lincoln, the poli-  
tician," might have been able  
to prevent the Civil war if he  
had become President sooner.

Farley, former chairman of  
the Democratic national com-  
mittee and former postmaster  
general, told the Peekskill Lin-  
coln society in an address:

"He was convinced that wher-  
ever political measures could be  
used force might be avoided . . .

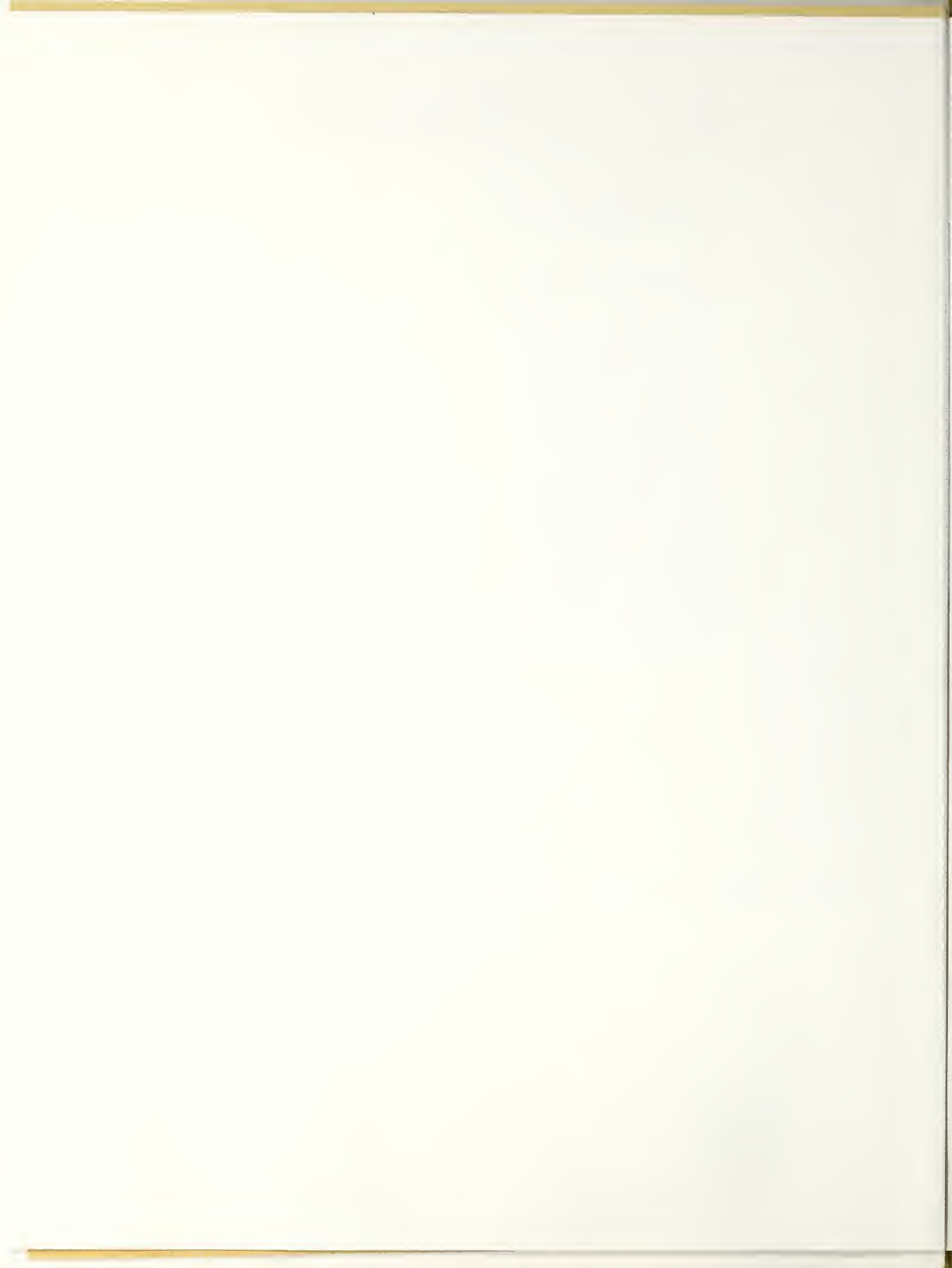
"It seems to me at least pos-  
sible that if Lincoln had taken  
office immediately upon his elec-  
tion in November, 1860, instead  
of having to wait until March of  
1861, the Civil war might pos-  
sibly have been avoided.

"Passions were running high  
in 1860 and the only chance of  
avoiding the Civil war lay in  
bringing together, by political  
methods, the Moderates, both of  
the North and of the South."

Farley said Moderates on both

sides "probably were a major-  
ity" but that the Extremists  
were making the most noise.

THE KANSAS CITY STAR, SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1956.





ON ELECTION NIGHT 100 YEARS AGO:

# Abe Fretted Out Historic Hours

**EDITOR'S NOTE**—The returns clattered over the telegraph. Pittsburgh: Lincoln. New York State: Lincoln. And so it went across the north on the election day 100 years ago. Here's how Lincoln fretted out that fateful night.

By TOM HENSHAW  
Associated Press Writer

Prophetically, the day began with the boom of cannon.

The dull roar, rolling across the open prairie and echoing among the trim white houses, signalled the dawn of Tuesday, Nov. 6, 1860, in Springfield, Ill., election day in Abe Lincoln's home town.

It was an unfamiliar sound, soon to become all too familiar. Due in large part to the events of this day, it would be a long time before the cannon were stilled.

Lincoln, his lanky frame sprawled and contorted in a great arm chair, entertained a constant stream of visitors and well-wishers in his headquarters, the governor's room of the State House.

The talk, of course, was largely politics.

There were the issues — or, more properly, the causes, for, in this election, they were bigger than issues — the containment or expansion of slavery; possibly the preservation or dissolution of the Union itself.

There were the candidates: The Republican Lincoln, exponent of containment; the young (39) pro-slavery Democrat, John C. Breckenridge; Stephen A. Douglas, a fellow Illinoisan of the "popular sovereignty" Democrats; forlorn old John Bell of the peace-at-any-price Constitutional Union party.

Lincoln appeared relaxed and cheerful. Once, when the conversation turned from politics, he expounded in some detail on rail-splitting and even rose from his chair to demonstrate his technique to the delight of his supporters.

But, every now and then, he couldn't resist speculative glances through the window at the polling place in the Court House across Sixth Street, where citizens milled about and election workers hawked their candidates and tickets outside the door.

By 3 p.m., the crowd had thinned and the candidate strolled across the street to the Court House. Modestly, he cut his name from the top of the ticket and handed it in at the voting table while the crowd cheered and tried to slap him on the back.

room relaxed. But not too much.

Some 250 miles north, in Galena, Ill., a \$50-a-month clerk puttered around his family's leather store. He often brooded over his failures, as a soldier, farmer, real estate man. Perhaps now he thought of the election. But, then, Ulysses S. Grant rarely concerned himself with politics.

Reports trailed slowly and irregularly into the Springfield State House. By 9 p.m., even Lincoln could stand the suspense no longer. With several cronies, he walked to the telegraph office, where Superintendent Wilson read him the returns directly from wires.

A definite Lincoln trend began to develop. Illinois was his. So was Indiana. By 10 p.m., indications were strong that the Republicans had swept the West. But the West was not the country. Pivotal New York and Pennsylvania had yet to report.

A festive crowd gathered in a Washington theater to watch famed actor Joe Jefferson perform. The actor himself stepped out of his role to read the returns to the audience. They showed a partial Democratic success in New York City. The audience cheered. Lincoln was hissed.

The candidate sprawled on a

11 p.m., the politically-powerful East began to show in strength. Pittsburgh: Lincoln. Philadelphia: Lincoln. And finally, from his man in Philadelphia:

"Hon. A. Lincoln: Pennsylvania 70,000 for you: New York safe. Glory enough. S. Cameron."

Cheers swept the crowded office and even the imperturbable Lincoln was heard to remark that the result exceeded his expectations.

Far to the south, in a Texas army camp, a tall graying colonel wondered if he was to lead the coming expedition into Comanche Indian country. He wondered about the election, too. It concerned him deeply. For Robert E. Lee was both a soldier and a Virginian.

Shortly after midnight, Lincoln and his friends adjourned to Watson's saloon, taken over for the night by the Republican ladies of Springfield. There the tables staggered under "oceans of coffee and continents of food." A hundred women greeted him with cries of

"How do you do, Mr. President."

"Oh!" cried one woman. "I've shaken hands with Mr. Lincoln!" "Have you," sneered another. "Well, I've done better than

around and took my place at the foot of the line and shook hands with him again."

Reports continued to flow from the telegraph office to the reception hall. New York was coming in now. New York City: Democratic margin cut to only 27,000. Finally, from Simeon Draper: "New York, 50,000 majority for Lincoln."

Lincoln was elected!

The hall rang with cheers. People danced and yelled and pumelled their neighbors and the Republican campaign song wailed up.

Rumors swept Washington. South Carolina had seized Fort Moultrie in Charleston harbor. Untrue. Federal officials in the South were resigning. Partly true. A federal judge and a port collector in South Carolina quit the following day.

Lincoln went back to the telegraph office. Southern returns were coming in now. Here the Lincoln vote was virtually non-existent. But that was expected. Breckenridge was running strong. But it was too late now.

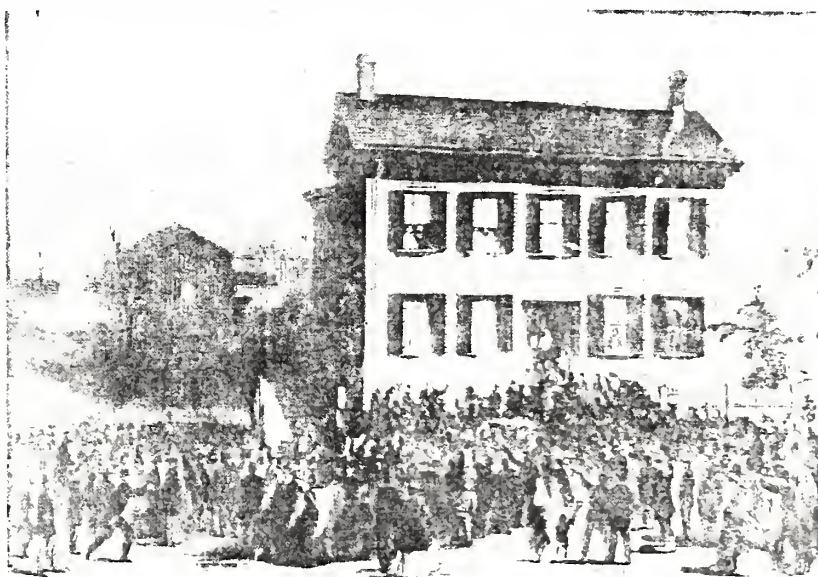
Satisfied, the candidate, now president-elect, went home to bed.

In Washington, a mob swept through the Republican Wigwam on Indiana Avenue, smash-

the country. The club started black-balling boredom in 1947. the Bloomington Oldsters Club—an organization that has made itself known in Senior Citizen Circles across

2E FORT WAYNE JOURNAL-GAZETTE

Sunday, Nov. 6, 1960



**THE BATTLE IS WON**—Enthusiastic friends gather at the home of Abraham Lincoln in Springfield, Ill. on the morning of Nov. 7, 1860. During the night election returns showed that Lincoln was the new President of the United States. Lincoln and wife are shown in this drawing of the time in the upper window of their home. The building still stands.—AP Newsfeatures Photo





◀ Abraham Lincoln spent Election Night of 1860 with a few close friends, Senator Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, State Treasurer Jesse K. Dubois, and Edward L. Baker, a Springfield editor. According to an observer, this is what happened at Baker's newspaper plant when word came that Lincoln had carried New York: "Dubois jumped to his feet. 'Hey,' he shouted, and they began singing a campaign song, 'Ain't You Glad You J'ined the Republicans?'"









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# THE FINEST OF THE FINE

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POLITICS

**GREATEST  
POLITICAL DEMONSTRATION  
OF THE AGE.**

**FT. WAYNE, IA.**

**ON TUESDAY OCT. 2ND. 1860.**

**S. A. DOUGLAS,  
& HERSCHEL V. JOHNSON.**

**TURN OUT EVERY-BODY  
LITTLE GIANT.**

**DANIEL W. PEARL, Agent.**

The 124-year-old broadsheet advertising the Douglas-Johnson speeches

# Politicking, press haven't changed

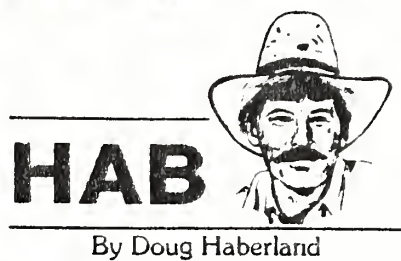
My, how things have changed.  
On Sunday night, President Reagan, a Republican, debated Democratic challenger Walter Mondale before a national television audience.

But in 1860, President Abraham Lincoln — also a Republican — did not travel the first mile or make a single speech in support of his re-election.

At the time "it was a gross breach of decorum for a (president) to give a speech in his behalf," said Mark E. Neely, curator of the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum, 1301 S. Harrison St.

On the other hand, Lincoln's opponent, Northern Democrat Stephen A. Douglas, became essentially the first presidential candidate to stump the country, including, on Oct. 2, 1860, stop in Fort Wayne with his running mate, Herschel V. Johnson.

A 124-year-old broadsheet, on display at the museum, heralds



their Fort Wayne appearance as the "Greatest political demonstration of the age."

According to the poster, 40,000 to 50,000 people were expected to hear Douglas and Johnson discuss "political topics of the day."

Why Fort Wayne?  
"Indiana, as it always was in the 19th century, was a key state," Mark said Monday. Politicians never knew how Hoosiers would vote.

But "Fort Wayne was a Stephen Douglas town. A Democrat town."

Douglas carried Allen County in the election a month later with  
**See POLITICS, Page 2A.**

## Politics

**From Page 1A.**  
3,224 votes. Lincoln garnered 2,552; Southern Democrat John C. Breckinridge, 42; and John Bell, of the Constitutional Union Party, 32.

But Lincoln carried Indiana and several other critical states and was re-elected to a second term.

The historic broadsheet was purchased from an Ohio library after it was found folded and filed with some old newspaper clippings.

Fortunately, the director of the library knew what he had and contacted Mark.

The 24-by-32-inch broadsheet, in "delicate and far-from-excellent condition," recently returned from the Northeast Document Preservation Center in Massachusetts where it was "put in the best condition it could be," Mark said.

The importance of such a find to the museum is obvious.

"Finding things that are at all related to Lincoln and Fort Wayne are hard to find. About the best you could ask for is a broadside of Lincoln's opponent."

The broadsheet also represents a contrast in political styles.

Advisers tell Reagan to make his points in the first 20 minutes, before the TV audience loses interest, Mark said. Douglas spoke for 60 minutes and was followed by four other speechmakers.

But that was what people wanted in 1860. Spectators "came here to listen to five solid hours of political speeches. You spend the entire day in politics — a Tuesday, too," he said.

Life was hard. People were bored. Politics was entertainment. Politics was parades, brass bands and fireworks.

People "came to have a good time," Mark said, comparing the daylong political rally to a college campus on a Saturday during the football season.

The broadsheet also advertised a rail excursion between Lima, Ohio, and Fort Wayne on the 40- or 50-car "Little Giant" train, "one of the largest ever seen in Ohio ... for accommodation of the excursionists."

Douglas gave what Mark described as his standard pro-slavery campaign speech. It was interrupted 110 times by cheers and applause.

The Weekly Sentinel, the town's Democrat newspaper, reported "an audience of over 50,000" witnessed "the largest, most imposing and magnificent demonstration ever seen in the state of Indiana ..."

The Republican paper, The Daily Times, reported "there were not 10,000 on the ground nor 7,000 strangers in the city during the day."

But newspapers in the 1800s existed solely for politics. Many were subsidized by political parties, Mark said.

"You bought it (a newspaper) to see your political enemies vilified with the most venom imaginable."

Well, maybe things haven't changed *that* much after all.



*Journal- Gazette*

*10/24/84*

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## **Correction**

**Wrong date given for term:** Abraham Lincoln's second term as president of the U.S. began in 1865, not 1860 as stated in Tuesday's HAB column. Lincoln's vice presidents were Hannibal Hamlin in 1861 and Andrew Johnson in 1865. Also, Stephen A. Douglas was not pro-slavery or anti-slavery, but believed each state should have the right to choose.

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#96

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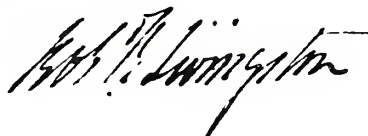
Mailing Address  
P.O. Box 30117  
Philadelphia, PA 19103

96. (LINCOLN AND THE ELECTION OF 1860). King, Preston. Autograph Letter Signed to John S. Richards, Washington, D.C., 7 September 1860. 1½ pp., 4to. \$50.00

Preston King was a founder of the Republican party, a senator from New York, and chairman of the Republican National Committee in 1860. In this letter to a campaign worker in Pennsylvania, he writes about efforts to promote the election of Lincoln. "We will send you 1000 of Harlan in English as soon as they can be franked for you . . . A life of Lincoln in English was published at the Tribune Office N.Y. and by a publisher in Chicago-and there were lives published in German by others . . . I think your committees in Philadelphia . . . have them . . . It is gratifying to find our friends in Pennsylvania actively engaged in the canvass and determined to carry the State both in October and November."

97. (LINCOLN'S FUNERAL). U.S. War Department. Official Arrangements at Washington for the funeral solemnities of the late Abraham Lincoln . . . Washington, D.C., War Department, 1865. 3 pp., 8vo. \$200.00

This pamphlet is an official copy of the War Department's order of arrangement for the funeral of Abraham Lincoln. Dated 17 April 1865, it outlines in detail the funeral procession, including military and civilian officials and members of the family, and it is signed by the Assistant Adjutant General W.A. Nichols. Fine condition.



98. LIVINGSTON, ROBERT R. (1746-1813). Letter Signed to Sylvanus Bourne, Paris, 18 July 1802. 1 p., folio. \$500.00

A good diplomatic letter from this attorney who was an important member of the Continental Congress, chancellor of New York State, and the U.S. minister to France who arranged the Louisiana Purchase. This letter, written while Livingston was the American minister in Paris, is addressed to the U.S. consul at Amsterdam, and it reports on the latest developments in the Tripolitan War against the Barbary States. "I have just received information from Commodore Morris commanding our squadron in the Mediterranean & from Mr. Gavins our Consul at Gibraltar, that the Emperor of Morocco has directed his vessels to cruise against the American trade. Commodore Morris recommends that all vessels belonging to the United States bound for the Mediterranean should rendez-vous at Cadiz, where they will wait for convoy into the streights. You will be pleased," Livingston adds, "to give the necessary information on this subject to the respective Consuls of the United States in Batavia and to the commanders of American vessels."







ELECTION NIGHT IN NEW YORK. A huge multitude waited patiently before the office  
 where he was over the telegraph.

From thousands of throats came a cheer. At the Springfield State House "men pushed each other, threw up their hats, hurrahed, cheered for Lincoln . . . and some actually laid down on the carpeted floor, and rolled over and over." On the streets men marched, singing and screaming and shouting: "Ain't I glad I've joined the Republicans!"

At Watson's confectionery the Republican women put on an oyster supper. Lincoln made his appearance, then he went home, where Mary with other ladies of Springfield served coffee and sandwiches to all who dropped in. "How do you do, Mr. President," was heard over and over again, and Lincoln smiled and shook hands and thanked everyone.



In the case of the American  
in France he was in the front at the  
the high place for which he had received  
the highest salary

June 29







